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Russian Foreign Ministry, Politicians, Journalists React to Clinton Win

Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Mamedov yesterday sent a message to President-Elect Bill Clinton on behalf of the Foreign Ministry in which he greeted Clinton's election with "great optimism" and with the hope that Russian-U.S. relations will "gain new momentum" under his administration, according to Moscow radio. Mamedov said everything will be done to ensure there is no "pause" in relations. Commenting on Clinton's pre-election goals regarding military issues, Mamedov hoped Clinton "will not go beyond certain limits" in reducing "the military program," according to ITAR-TASS. He noted, however, that if the Clinton administration capitalizes on the "opportunities connected with the cold war...we will welcome this and are ready to meet him halfway."

Foreign Minister Kozyrev commented that Russia's policy toward the United States "will not change" with the coming of a new administration, but rather become a policy of "strategic partnership at a new stage," according to ITAR-TASS. "We have laid down a good basis" with the Bush administration, he said, and "intend to improve our cooperation" with the new one.

Various politicians, academicians, and journalists have also expressed their opinions concerning the pros and cons of a Clinton presidency. In a ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI article, the deputy director of the Foreign Ministry's North American Department expected "a complete lull" in relations while the administration changes hands. Chairman of the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement, Gavriil Popov, picked up on this concern, stating in an INTERFAX report that Clinton's victory means "the beginning of a new, difficult stage of development in the world community." He believes the change in the White House could lead to problems in Russia's relations with its republics because of Clinton's "ardent devotion to democratic values and human rights."

Several politicians offered their views in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. A National Salvation Front member said Clinton's victory "shows that something is rotten not only in our country but even in prosperous America." Democratic Party member Smirnov said that although a Bush victory would have been "preferable" to the present Russian leadership, Clinton's win is "the right decision" for America to "gain new impetus." A PRAVDA article noted that a Clinton win creates "even greater confusion" over U.S. aid to Russia, especially since Clinton is viewed as "far more skeptical about the idea of American extravagance" abroad with "pressing problems at home." A KURANTY commentator pointed out that although Clinton is "unequivocally" an advocate of U.S. isolationism, the change of president "is to the benefit of our diplomacy." A KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA article said however that regardless of the direction in which Clinton leads America, "it is no partner for us."

Baltic Leaders Anticipate Continued U.S. Support for Independence

Estonian Premier Laar, in congratulating Clinton on his victory in the U.S. presidential election, noted that "Estonia will not feel completely free until foreign forces stationed in the country have left" and expressed his hope that Clinton "will support Russia's democratic forces and President Boris Yeltsin and help Estonia achieve 'speedy, orderly and complete troop pullout,' " according to ETA NEWS RELEASE. Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council, in his message to the president-elect broadcast by Riga radio, anticipated "that relations between America and the Republic of Latvia will continue to develop in even deeper understanding and friendship between our peoples, based on our common belief in democracy and individual freedom." Lithuanian leader Landsbergis "expressed the hope that the USA's support for Lithuania's independence would remain solid and become more dynamic under the new" administration, according to BALTFAX.

Decree on Converting Missile Complex Resources to Economic Uses

PM0511153192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Nov 92 First Edition p 4

[Decree No. 820 of the Russian Federation Government "On the Rational Use for National Economic Needs of Missile Complexes To Be Eliminated in Accordance With the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms" issued by Ye. Gaydar in Moscow on 22 October]

[Text] For the purposes of saving state funds used to eliminate arms and of constructing housing for officers of the Russian Federation Armed Forces using revenues received from the rational use for national economic needs of missile complexes to be eliminated in accordance with the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, the Russian Federation Government decrees:

1. The proposal by interested ministries and departments of the Russian Federation for the rational use for national economic needs of the missile complexes (excluding nuclear warheads) to be eliminated in accordance with the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, which provides for the missiles' modification and use of spacecraft for commercial launches in accordance with orders from Russian and foreign firms; the dismantling of launch complexes and of missiles not to be used for launches with a view to obtaining systems, assemblies, and materials to be used in the national economy and for export; the conversion of the territory of launch complexes into private farms; and the construction of housing for officers in the Russian Federation Armed Forces by means of the funds obtained (the "Housing for Missiles" project, hereinafter the project) is approved.

It will be taken into consideration that the project will be funded principally with funds attracted from Russian and foreign investors.

2. The proposal by interested ministries and departments of the Russian Federation for participating in work on implementing the project of the "Scientific and Technical Progress" Association for business cooperation with foreign countries, the "SLBM Conversion" Association, and the "Joint-Stock Union for Conversion Activity," "Reusable Resources," and "Space Industry" Joint-Stock Companies is adopted.

3. The Russian Federation Ministry of Defense is confirmed as the project's general client.

4. The Russian Space Agency will ensure coordination of work on creating commercial space rocket systems on the basis of using the missiles to be eliminated.

5. It is established that:

Work on the project connected with modifying missiles for commercial launches of spacecraft during 1993-1994 will be funded in accordance with contracts with the client with appropriations from the Russian Federation republic's budget provided for under the subhead "Realization of International Treaties on the Elimination, Reduction, and Limitation of Arms";

Profits earned from the project will be used to construct housing for officers of the Russian Federation Armed Forces and to fund research and development on converting missiles of the Strategic Rocket Forces and the Navy into carrier rockets for launching spacecraft and to fund the development of basic progressive technologies for the production of national economic output on the basis of utilizing these missiles.

6. The Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property and the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense will transfer without payment to the organizations involved in work on the project the missiles to be eliminated, the launch and ship complexes, and equipment as they are removed from combat duty, as well as missiles and equipment with expired guarantee periods.

7. For the realization of the project, organizations involved in work on the project will be permitted to engage in foreign economic activity in accordance with procedures laid down in existing legislation with regard to concluding treaties and contracts for carrying out commercial launches of spacecraft and selling technical output, materials, and equipment obtained following industrial processing of missiles and the equipment of launch and ship complexes.

8. The Russian Federation Ministry of Defense, the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finance, in conjunction with other departments and organizations involved in realizing the project, are to draw up and approve within two months a statute defining the organization of the fulfillment of work on the project, the timing and the procedure for the handover of missiles and combat launch and ship complexes, the procedure for settling up for this work, the utilization of the revenue received, and the participation in the said work of elimination bases, troop units, and test sites of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense.

9. The Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in conjunction with other interested departments and entrepreneurial structures, will ensure the preparation and holding of talks with the U.S. side and other foreign partners with a view to improving the possibilities of realizing the project.

[Signed] Ye. Gaydar

Central Asian Leaders Issue Joint Statement on Tajikistan

LD0511131192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1241 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 5 TASS—"Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Russia cannot remain indifferent to the fate of Tajikistan, with which our nations are linked by unbreakable historical bonds of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. They reaffirm their readiness to render the Tajik people all the assistance they need to restore peace and order on their land. Peace-making and mediation efforts will be continued and humanitarian, economic and other aid will be increased," says a joint statement issued on Wednesday by participants of the Alma-Ata meeting.

Expressing great concern about the crisis in Tajikistan and responding to repeated calls by acting president of Tajikistan Akbarsho Iskandarov, who attended the Alma-Ata meeting, its participants declare that the people of Tajikistan are on the brink of a national catastrophe, endangering Tajik statehood. The fratricidal war threatens the security and stability of the Central Asian region and the adjoining states.

The presidents of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan have gone on record for the use of the 201st division of the Russian Armed Forces deployed on the Tajik territory, to help protect the civilian population and vitally important installations, to restore peace and order in Tajikistan. This must be done on agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Tajikistan. In their opinion, the division should constitute the core of their joint peace-keeping force, which will also include troops from other CIS countries in conformity with the call issued by the Republic of Tajikistan.

The meeting participants are in accord with Iskandarov's proposal to urgently form a Tajik state council, which will include representatives from all the regions and political forces of the country. Its powers and composition are to be endorsed by a session of the Supreme Soviet not later than November 20.

The meeting participants have found it necessary to take additional joint measures to strengthen the border between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. They have decided to dispatch to Dushanbe representatives of the presidents of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Russia to coordinate the distribution of humanitarian aid arriving in Tajikistan.

The meeting participants call on other CIS states to join their collective efforts to stabilise the situation in the Republic of Tajikistan. They will also welcome any assistance that may be rendered to these efforts by other members of the world community, by the United Nations and the CSCE.

Kozyrev Brings Yeltsin Message

LD0411160692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1213 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 4 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Kazakhstan's capital. As personal representative of the Russian president he will participate on Wednesday in a one-day meeting of the presidents of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov, of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev and Tajikistan's Acting President Akbarsho Iskandarov. The meeting of leaders of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, held on the initiative of the president of Kazakhstan, will discuss the ways of settling the conflict in Tajikistan, the possibilities of creating a coalition government of national reconciliation, the participation of peace-making forces in terminating an armed conflict, and the rendering of humanitarian aid to the population of the districts, affected by the conflict.

Kozyrev will convey to the participants in the meeting a message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin which sums up Russia's approach to the settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan.

From Alma-Ata, the Russian president [as received] will fly to Dushanbe and then to Ashgabat. Acting President of Tajikistan Akbarsho Iskandarov, who was on a brief working visit in Moscow, arrived in Alma-Ata on board the same plane as the Russian minister.

Nazarbayev Calls for Special Steps

LD0411163592 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1310 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 4 Nov—During today's meeting of the heads of the Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev called for urgent and extraordinary measures to end the conflict in Tajikistan. Otherwise, he continued, the situation in Tajikistan is fraught with the danger of more bloodshed which could spread to other regions.

Nursultan Nazarbayev read to the participants in the Alma-Ata meeting a personal message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which also stresses the need for urgent actions to end the bloodshed in Tajikistan, to provide comprehensive aid to the population of the stricken regions, and to organize the evacuation of inhabitants planning to leave the dangerous region.

The Kazakhstan president stressed that the urgency in convening the current meeting is prompted by the fact that the "fate of neighboring Tajikistan, where events could become chronic in nature, is far from being a matter of indifference to all of us." In his view, the degree of calm which has been established in the region does not mean a final settlement of the confrontation. The warring sides are accumulating forces. The main task of those taking part in the Alma-Ata meeting, Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed, is not to permit a deepening of the conflict or an increase in its scale.

Russia Worries About Refugees

OW0411193892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] The continuation of the conflict in Tajikistan may cause the bloodshed to spread over to other regions, including Russia, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev announced in Alma-Ata during a conference involving Uzbek Presdient Islam Karimov, Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, Acting President of Tajikistan Akbarsho Iskandarov and the Russian president's personal representative Andrey Kozyrev. Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov is absent for reasons which are not quite clear. [passage omitted]

According to the DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent who accompanied Andrey Kozyrev during his trip, Russia is particularly concerned by the position of refugees. Certain sources allege that about 50,000 ethnic Russians living in Tajikistan (more than half of their total number) would like to emigrate from Tajikistan. This raises a difficult problem before Russia: it needs to give all the emigrants free access to their homeland on the one hand and to create conditions for stopping massive migration which arouses the Russian Foreign Ministry's great concern.

According to high-ranking representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry, the participants in the conference have common views on a number of issues. They believe that the spreading of "extreme fundamentalism in Tajikistan is extremely dangerous". They are convinced that the developments in Tajikistan largely determine stability in the entire region and would like Russian troops to continue to guard their borders with foreign countries.

Meanwhile, the military experts of the states participating in the conference doubt the possibility of these states' military interference in Tajikistan's internal affairs. [passage omitted]

Defense Ministers Council Discusses Draft CIS Agreements

LD0411153192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1215 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The CIS Defence Ministers Council discussed today morning three draft agreements that are to be submitted to the next CIS summit.

ITAR-TASS was told by Lieutenant-General Valeriy Manilov, press secretary of the commander-in-chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, that a draft agreement on the Defence Ministers Council and heads of state draft declaration "On the Protection of Victims of Armed Conflicts" were approved practically without any amendments. The declaration, on the motion of the Russian delegation, was given the status of an agreement in order to make its fulfilment binding on all the signatories.

As to the agreement, specifying the composition of the strategic armed forces, Manilov said that "there is a common understanding that such a document should be signed. It narrows down the definition of strategic forces as compared to earlier signed agreements". Now they are to include only strategic nuclear forces and military units serving them. "Such an approach suits all the sides concerned," Manilov stressed. "The list of units, included in the strategic nuclear forces, is to be endorsed by a corresponding order of the commander-in-chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and the defence minister of the corresponding signatory state," Manilov said. It will include strategic missile units, naval and airborne strategic nuclear forces, corresponding anti-aircraft defence units, intelligence and technical services ensuring nuclear safety. There will be a committee on nuclear policy, representing a joint working body of the chief command, intended to concert the policy of the commonwealth of independent states on problems of nuclear security and to coordinate their actions in this domain. The statute of the committee will be discussed today.

Collective Military Question Unresolved

LD0511122692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Report by correspondent V. Budnikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The problems of collective military security were the focus today of the conference of military delegations from CIS states convened in Moscow. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, briefed those assembled.

The following structure for the Joint Armed Forces is proposed: strategic units, forces for preventing local conflicts on CIS borders with foreign countries, and collective peacekeeping forces. But there are many impediments to implementing this plan in practice. These are primarily the positions of major states like Ukraine and Belarus. They are exceedingly guarded in their approach to the plan for military integration. Ukraine is sticking to its particular position on nuclear forces, while Belarus would evidently prefer not to send its soldiers to hot spots.

Resolving these issues depends of course on politicians rather than the military. It is not yet clear whether the prevailing trend is toward unification. The final word on which the fate of a collective military security system depends is left to the heads of the CIS states at their December summit in Minsk.

Heads of Government Plan Moscow Meeting 13 November

LD0511115492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1145 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Heads of government of Commonwealth member-states will meet in Moscow on November 13.

The Russian Government authorised the Foreign Ministry to conduct a legal expertise jointly with the main legal department at the Russian president of the draft documents submitted to the meeting, according to a resolution received by TASS on Thursday.

ITAR-TASS Reviews 5 November Press

LD0511081392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0623 GMT 5 Nov 92

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 5 ITAR-TASS—The dominant theme of today's newspapers is the Ossetian-Ingush conflict. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA describes it as the beginning of "a war in Russia's Caucasus". It emphasises that the state of emergency declared by the Russian president's decree on the territory of Ingushetia and North Ossetia on November 2 does not work. All attempts to douse the flame of the conflict by military force have so far been unsuccessful. The news that the Russian president met North Ossetian parliament leader Galazov without considering as necessary to invite Ingush representatives for this meeting has dispelled Ingushetia's illusions, the newspaper points out.

The army newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that "Russian paratroopers and Interior Ministry troops continue vigorous actions to disengage the warring groups and quash seats of armed resistance." The newspaper reports that worker self-defence detachments which patrol streets in Vladikavkaz are taking actions against looters and instigators. They are shot dead on the spot.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA quotes Russian Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha, who was appointed to head the interim administration on the territory of the two republics, as saying that "the armed conflict in North Ossetia was sparked off by forces that came from the outside of the republic." According to Khizha, armed groups penetrated into North Ossetia and unleashed the armed struggle.

The newspaper TRUD quotes Ingush National Council Chairman B. Seinaroyev as saying that Russian troops support the Ossetian side in the conflict.

In SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's view, "accord will not be reached by fire." The fratricidal conflict in northern Caucasus should be solved by peaceful means.

PRAVDA writes that the conflict in North Ossetia has been ripening for a long time. All knew about this. But as usual the authorities were late and the conflict spinned out of control. It is necessary that everything be done today to make sure that the conflict does not spread to other republics.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA points to the likelihood of the outbreak of a new conflict in this region. It contends that in addition to the Abkhazian, Chechen, Ingush, Ossetian, Lezghin and other problems that were inherited by Russia from the Stalin times, there comes into focus today and draws attention to itself is the Nogai problem. "The problem of the Nogai people, about which wide circles have scant knowledge but whose urgency nevertheless does not fade, continues to be a detonator of the potential ethnopolitical explosion and a destabilising factor in northern Caucasus."

Newspapers comment extensively and lively on the results of the presidential elections in the United States. "America wanted changes and it received them. The moderate liberal, which under Russian standards means moderate conservative, became president," NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes.

It emphasises that "the elections in the U.S. were unprecedented in all respects: they witnessed the highest voter turnout, it was the first time over many years that the third independent candidate reached the final stage of the election campaign, television became almost the all-important driving force behind the election campaign."

"Americans gave preference to Bill Clinton" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, "America chose Clinton" (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA), "Democrats celebrate victory. Bill Clinton from Arkansas becomes the 42nd host of the White House" (TRUD), "America forgotten by Bush turned away from him" (PRAVDA).

A group of deputies of the Russian parliament took part in a round-table discussion organised by PRAVDA to clarify "what the deputies who make up the opposition to the current policy steered by the government and the president are guided by." They contend that the country is in deep crisis. The production slump will reach 50 per cent shortly. Agricultural production shrank by 40 per cent. Therefore, they believe that urgent measures need to be taken to haul the country out of crisis. The Congress of Russian People's Deputies opening in December should address all these matters.

Annual GNP Statistics for Republics 1986-1991

OW2510170492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 25 Oct 92

[From the "Business Report"—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gross National Product in the former Soviet Union has not grown since 1988. After that, the most significant declines in gross national product were in Azerbaijan and Armenia (by 11% and 10.3% respectively as compared to 1985). These countries' economies were influenced by the ongoing armed conflicts in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The sharp drop last year in GNP in larger CIS member-states (Russia by 9.8%, Ukraine by 11.3%) is mostly due to the breakdown of business relations due to the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

GNP in the CIS (in percentage of 1985 figures)

	Azerbaijan	Armenia	Belarus	Kazakhstan	Kyrgyzstan	Moldova
1986	-1.7	2.9	5.3	2.4	3.1	4.0
1987	1.8	4.2	9.7	5.4	3.9	5.5
1988	4.3	3.4	12.7	10.7	11.3	8.7
1989	-1.8	11.0	19.1	12.3	14.6	15.2
1990	-12.0	2.5	17.5	9.3	14.8	18.6
1991	-11.0	-10.3	15.2	6.3	10.6	1.6

	Russia	Tajikistan	Turkmenistan	Uzbekistan	Ukraine	CIS
1986	3.5	3.3	4.4	2.1	2.8	3.3
1987	6.4	5.3	8.6	3.4	5.2	6.0
1988	10.3	13.0	16.6	9.2	7.6	9.7
1989	11.6	8.2	13.0	11.3	11.0	11.7
1990	9.9	4.4	16.6	12.7	8.4	9.7
1991	-0.9	-2.3	17.9	12.0	-3.8	0.0

Reports Highlight Reaction to Clinton Victory

Mamedov Message Expresses 'Great Optimism'

LD0411233892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Message of greetings to President-Elect Bill Clinton by Deputy Foreign Minister Mamedov on behalf of the Foreign Ministry in Moscow on 4 November—recorded]

[Excerpts] First of all I would like, on behalf of employees in the Foreign Ministry, to congratulate Bill Clinton, the 42d President of the United States, to wish him success, and of course to express the conviction that the forward development of Russian-U.S. relations, for which we have done so much over the last year and for which we have laid down a good base for partnership and cooperation in the future, will gain new momentum with the arrival of Bill Clinton.

We have definite grounds for supposing this. We know Clinton's group quite well, although understandably the team is only now being formed. It is too soon to speculate who will be the defense secretary or the secretary of state, although the second member of the team Senator Albert Gore, who has been a fairly frequent guest in Moscow and maintains good contacts with our embassy in Washington, bears testimony to the fact that this is a very strong team with a good understanding not only of internal political problems but also of international problems. This was demonstrated during the election campaign.

Therefore—I repeat—we greet the election of Bill Clinton with great optimism. We are ready to work and cooperate with him. [passage omitted]

I think there will also be a congratulatory telegram from our vice president to Albert Gore. We are ready to cooperate and to augment everything that is positive in Russian-U.S. relations. We see new prospects, including those connected with the program which was so actively put forward [words indistinct] during the election campaign by Clinton himself.

Another thing that I wish to stress is that we do not expect any pause in Russian-U.S. relations, and we will do everything to ensure that there is not one.

Counts on Continued Cooperation

LD0411213692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2030 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Russia counts on the continuation of business and cooperation with the United States, Georgiy Mamedov, Russia's deputy foreign minister said here today at a briefing on the presidential elections held in the U.S.

"We will do everything possible not to let any pause emerge in relations between the two countries and to preserve that positive what we have succeeded in achieving during the last year in the joint work done with George Bush's team," Georgiy Mamedov emphasised.

Commenting on the military aspect of Bill Clinton's pre-election campaign, Georgiy Mamedov said that Moscow considers it with understanding that in his bid to cut down the military programme, "Bill Clinton will not go beyond certain limits." However in the opinion of his many statements on this subject, there were some notes which "were of interest to us."

According to the Russian Foreign Ministry representative, Bill Clinton several times said that the present administration is insufficiently using the opportunities connected with the "Cold War". If the new president of the U.S. and his team succeeds in going further, we will welcome this and are ready to meet him half way, Georgiy Mamedov noted.

'Glad' Clinton Won

LD0511103392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Excerpts] The attention of mass media all over the world was focused throughout the day on the outcome of the presidential election in the United States. The response to the developments has been very varied. Our commentator Vitaliy Buzuyev has the details.

[Buzuyev] [Passage omitted] Georgiy Mamedov, a Russian deputy foreign minister who has held a briefing for journalists, had this reaction to Bill Clinton's victory:

[Begin Mamedov recording] The U.S. election itself has been rather unusual with regard to, and in terms of, Russian-American relations. The Republican, Democrat, and independent candidate, who emerged quite unexpectedly, were engaged in a competition, as it were, in who would be able to do more, and sooner, and more efficiently, to support the democratic economic reforms under way in our country.

If you ask me, I can now tell you what I could not say earlier, even a day ago: I am glad that Bill Clinton has been elected. [end recording]

[Buzyuev] In Mamedov's words, even though the new president does not assume his office until 20 January, there will not be any pause in Russian-American relations. The only thing that can have an adverse effect on their development is the internal political situation in Russia itself. In particular, much depends on the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies. However, Georgiy Mamedov is more inclined toward optimistic forecasts.

Kozyrev Says No Policy Change

LD0511092392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0832 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Dushanbe November 5 TASS—"Russia's policy towards the United States in connection with the election of a new president and the coming new administration will not change," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, now on a working visit in Dushanbe, told the ITAR-TASS news agency on Thursday.

However, this will be a policy of "strategic partnership at a new stage," the minister added.

Russia has passed a stage laying down a basis for Russian-American relations, he continued. "We have laid down a good basis, and we are grateful to the Bush administration for this," Kozyrev stressed.

"Until this administration is in office, we shall cooperate with it and continue work in the same direction. As for the new administration," the minister noted, "we shall work on some new issues."

Strategic partnership predetermines a specific programme for cooperation, the development of bilateral relations, that is access to markets, mutual assistance in the conversion of the munitions industry, etc.

"We intend to improve our cooperation in Russian-American relations" with the new U.S. Administration, Kozyrev concluded.

Academician, Foreign Ministry Official Comment

PM0411202592 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Nov 92 p1

[Pavel Shunkarenko report incorporating interviews with Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Russian Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute, and Nikolay Smirnov, deputy director of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry North America Department; places and dates not given: "Bill Clinton Is the 42d President of the United States"]

[Text] According to preliminary figures, the Democrat Bill Clinton has already won the support of 360 electors, when 270 votes are sufficient for victory. This means that 20 January he will take the oath as the 42d president of the United States of America.

Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has sent Bill Clinton a congratulatory cable in connection with this event. How how do Russians see the change of resident at the White House?

Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Russian Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute:

B. Clinton's victory means not just a change of president or party, it marks the end of the period of the overwhelming influence of neoconservatism in America and the West as a whole. In addition, this is also the first administration since the cold war era which will be driven not by the struggle between two systems but by the affairs of its own country. At the same time I hope this will not be an isolationist administration.

As for relations between Russia and America, they will presumably develop in the same direction, although a natural slowdown should be expected: New people will come in and they will take a "new look" at foreign policy. On the other hand, there would also have been significant changes in the cabinet if Bush had won.

While paying due respect to Bush—his contribution to improving, first, Soviet-American and then Russian-American relations is indisputable—nevertheless additional opportunities open up under the new leadership. It can be reckoned that the new administration will go for further disarmament and demilitarization of the country. On the other hand, we too—particularly economic cadres, including the Russian Government — have been influenced by neoconservative thinking. I hope that this will help the formulation of an appropriate economic policy which will lead the country to revival.

Nikolay Smirnov, deputy director of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry North America Department:

Bill Clinton has won convincingly. We hope there will be no abrupt changes in Russian-American relations. B. Clinton has repeatedly expressed his support for the reforms in Russia and stood at the head of the movement to give us humanitarian aid. And we hope he will carry these qualities over into foreign policy. On the other hand, a difficult transitional period awaits us. Until 20 January, when the new president will officially take office, we expect a complete lull: The old administration will no longer be taking active steps, but the new one will only be beginning to take over the government offices.

Popov Sees 'Difficult Stage'

OW0411181492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1601 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, and Igor Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Bill Clinton's victory in the United States presidential elections means the beginning of "a new, difficult stage of development in the world community." Co-chairman of the Russian Democratic Reforms Movement [RDRM] Gavril Popov declared this in an interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama]. He indicated that the change in the White House administration could mean "Russia will encounter problems in its relations with Russian Federation republics."

Popov is drawing his conclusions from "the new administration's ardent devotion to democratic values and human rights." The co-chairman of the RDRM also admits that "after certain border adjustments, we'll have to grant independence to national republics in the Russian Federation where the native population makes up an overwhelming majority."

Politicians Comment

PM0411211692 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 1

["Russian politicians' opinions" collected by A. Podkopalov and R. Farzutdinov, under the general heading "America Chose Clinton": "But at Heart, I'm With Bush"]

[Text] Lev Ponomarev, "Democratic Russia":

"Let me take this opportunity, through KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, to congratulate Clinton on his victory, on behalf of 'Democratic Russia.'

"I would have been equally pleased to congratulate Bush. In my view, these are two worthy leaders for America. One hopes that Clinton will not forget his election promises on support for the reforms in Russia."

Ilya Konstantinov, National Salvation Front:

"I congratulate Clinton on his convincing election victory. His election as U.S. president shows that something is rotten not only in our country, but even in prosperous America. The U.S. Democratic Party is a party oriented to a greater extent toward minorities, toward the more oppressed section of the population.

"Clinton's program contains a provision on strengthening state regulation both in the economy and in the social sphere—which to some extent proves the inadequacy of our own 'monetarist' government too. The new president will build relations with the CIS countries and Russia in a new way. To all appearances, the role of the United States as a regulator of our mutual relations will lessen. In my view that is a good thing."

Vyacheslav Smirnov, Democratic Party of Russia:

"We expected Clinton to win. Nikolay Travkin, our party's leader, met with him during his recent visit to the United States.

"From the Americans' point of view this is the right decision, the country will gain new impetus. From the Russians' point of view, a Bush victory would have been preferable. At least for the present Russian leadership. Bush had repeatedly declared his intention to give further help to Russia and the CIS countries.

"But we congratulate Clinton, and our kindred party, the U.S. Democratic Party."

Aleksandr Barkashov, Russian National Assembly [Russkiy Natsionalnyy Sobor]:

"I can't say. I simply don't know."

Lyudmila Bartazarova, Socialist Party of Working People:

"I think the election of Clinton is favorable from the viewpoint of our national interests. I know from talking with American specialists and scholars that Clinton's economic experts assess the situation in our country as disastrous. There is hope that under the influence of the new American president and his entourage the Russian leadership will change the course of the reforms and turn them in a healthier direction."

Viktor Bogatyy, member of the LDPR (Liberal Democratic Party of Russia) Supreme Council:

"Vladimir Zhirinovskiy sent a telegram of congratulations to the United States on Monday evening, saying:

"'Esteemed Mr. Clinton, I cordially congratulate you on election as president of the United States! Allow me to express confidence that negative results in relations between Russia and America that took place during the Bush presidency will change and bring fruitful cooperation between our peoples and states'."

Yuriy Chernichenko, Russian Peasants' Party:

"Well, yes... Things look bad. Bill won... I was in California recently, and I thought our Bush, my Bush, would win. No joy... I must say, the Americans judged Bush harshly: They forgot the defeat of the communist system, international affairs, and Saddam, and they remembered internal affairs. It is one in the eye for us from America. But at heart, I'm with Bush."

PRAVDA Predicts 'Slowing' of U.S. Dialogue

PM0411202092 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 92 pp 1, 6

[Viktor Linnik article under the general heading "From Arkansas to the White House": "America, Forgotten by Bush, Breaks Away From Him"]

[Text] A rout—that is how you could describe the results of the presidential elections that have just ended in the United States. True, this time it was not the usual duel, but a three-way shoot-out. Nonetheless Bush has already gone down in history as a presidential candidate with one of the smallest numbers of votes in the last 60 years. For the White House incumbent to get only 39 percent is a kind of record disaster.

Bush was "finished off" by the state of the U.S. economy, the Republican Party's position on abortions (the White House incumbent was forced to come out in favor of banning them), and finally by a bad choice of topics and slogans for the campaign. Former U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, who became the leader of Bush's last battle for the White House, was unable to think up any miracles. Moreover, the tactics of personal attacks on Clinton and extolling of "family values" could not have succeeded. First, Bush himself is by no means without sin. Take, for instance, "Iraq-gate" alone, in which Bush was directly involved and which amounted to direct incitement to Iraqi aggression against Kuwait!

Second, in today's America how can you say that a woman should stay at home, when the financial situation of the average American family has deteriorated so far that it simply cannot allow itself to have only one breadwinner? After all, today the majority of Americans say that they are less well off than four years ago. In 1988 only 17 percent said that.

As a result, the winner was Clinton—the first Democrat in the White House in 12 years and only the second in 24 years. This in itself is an important indication that by no means everything is fine in the "American home" today. For a whole year our country's mass media tried to take no notice of this, primarily because "shining America" was chosen as the standard against which to measure Russia's market progress.

I do not think I will be giving away any secrets if I say that the sympathies of Russian press, radio, and television journalists were mainly on Bush's side. I am not going to speculate about why that was—whether it was at someone's prompting, or because of personal but surprisingly uniform preferences on the part of our knights of the pen. Evidently our writing brotherhood was totally unable to believe that the man whom Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] himself called "my friend George" could lose so resoundingly.

The failure, during the night, of the Russian TV channel which was showing live coverage, in conjunction with NBC, of the voting in the United States is a kind of eloquent summing up of our mass media's general failings in the coverage of American topics. It is not a question of technical failures, not a question of the fact that last night a stable satellite link with the American continent could not be established. The problem lies elsewhere: We have no "contact" in general; in fact, we practically have a permanent "short circuit" when it comes to understanding the United States and Russian-U.S. relations. The reason is the lack of professionalism in our own mass media, their excessive ideological tunnel vision. Rather like the old days, but the other way round. That is why irritating pinpricks like these are no coincidence: The day before the elections NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA predicted a victory for Bush. IZVESTIYA, in its 2 November issue, reported that R. Perot, the third contender, had spent $60 million on his campaign. On 3 November they were talking about $100 million. One can only wonder how even the billionaire Perot could spend $40 million in a day.

All this may appear trivial. But what did it lead to? The Russian press scarcely noticed Clinton, despite the fact that for some months (since the Democratic Convention in July) he has been in the lead in all the public opinion polls.

What do Clinton's victory and Bush's crushing defeat mean to Russia?

Lesson one: Do not be afraid to challenge politicians, even if they are "nine feet tall"—is the popular American phrase. That is how Bush looked on the crest of the wave of his pseudo-victory over Iraq, when popularity polls gave him a mind-boggling 88 percent. That fact, two years ago, frightened off the acknowledged "heavyweights" in the Democratic Party, who had far more chance than Clinton of winning nomination as presidential candidate. They dropped out of the game because they thought that competing with Bush in 1992 would be political suicide. Clinton was not one of those smart guys who calculated everything in advance. And as a result he secured a staggering victory. So never believe those who say that this or that political leader is irreplaceable. There is always a replacement, even if we know nothing of him today.

Lesson two: Voters in any country (and America is no exception) are always more inclined to vote "against" than "for." The vote for Clinton's rather abstract promises of change is first and foremost a vote against Bush. A total of 61 percent of American voters voted against Bush—that is, for Clinton or Perot. In just the same way 18 months ago the people of Russia voted not so much for Yeltsin as against Gorbachev (or rather, against those who were associated with Gorbachev). Therefore today's voting results in America are very serious food for thought for the current Russian authorities.

Lesson three: Politically, Bush was virtually Gorbachev's identical twin when it came to inability to exercise leadership in a large and complex country. Hopes that foreign policy successes would obscure failures at home proved entirely unfounded for both leaders. Not many American presidents have had such pluses in foreign policy as Bush. And not many have managed to make such undistinguished use of them! Here, too, he is painfully reminiscent of Gorbachev. Lastly, it was not Bush who won the cold war, as he repeatedly proclaimed; it was Gorbachev who lost it. That too did not go unnoticed in the United States.

Lesson four: Bush's economic advisers (and he could bring in the very best) had been telling him for a number of months that the end of the economic recession was not far off. They were cruelly mistaken. If they were unable to give their own President useful advice on the American economy, how can their recommendations seriously be expected to succeed in Russia? Especially since none of the present Russian Government's American advisers is capable of teaching us how to make the transition from a centralized and planned economy to a market economy. Especially in a vast and peculiar country like Russia. The American experience can offer no pointers here.

Lesson five, which, incidentally, is directly connected with the previous one: Bush's defeat means the collapse in America itself of so-called Reaganomics, which is based largely on the monetarist approaches which Gaydar's team is trying, with resounding lack of success, to apply in Russia. In the United States Reaganomics degenerated into a protracted recession, and in Russia into virtual degradation of the economy. So should a halt be called, maybe, to experimenting in Russia with models that prove inadequate even in their own birthplaces?

Lesson six: Back in January PRAVDA wrote that in an American election year it is ridiculous to seriously expect significant U.S. aid. The election of Clinton introduces even greater confusion to this problem. He is far more skeptical about the idea of American extravagance in the context of the pressing problems at home. So, with Clinton's election it becomes even more naive than before to expect to pin our own economic reforms on aid from the West and the United States.

Lesson seven: A slowing down of Russian-U.S. dialogue is inevitable in 1993, for very natural reasons. Clinton's new team needs time to get into the swing of things. This applies to the whole spectrum of our relations, including disarmament problems. Even if the strategic course remains unchanged, a slowing of the pace is predetermined.

Lesson eight: Although the Democrat Clinton has come to the White House, the philosophy of the U.S. Democratic Party differs significantly from the philosophy of our own "democrats." American Democrats, in contrast to ours, have since Roosevelt's day advocated significant state regulation of the economy, the expansion of social programs of aid to the needy, job creation, and national medical insurance for all. In short, they are far more "socialist" than the supporters of "untamed capitalism" we have here at home. It is well worth remembering that as dialogue with the new U.S. Administration begins.

Lesson nine: All unseemly secret actions by the powers that be will sooner or later become known to the public at large. This fate befell Bush during this campaign, when his involvement in unlawful weapons sales to Iran during the Iran-Iraq war and direct incitement of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait became known.

Lesson 10: Clinton's victory means that a change of generations is taking place among the leaders of the world's leading states. The 48-year-old J. Major in Britain "opened the scoring." Now, with the election of the 46-year-old Clinton and his 44-year-old Vice President A. Gore, the Russian president has suddenly become an elderly man. Undeniably he still looks quite good in the company of politicians like Kohl or Mitterrand. But all the same....

Lesson 11, the last: Even now, with Democrats in control of the White House and Congress, it is no use expecting an idyllic relationship between the executive and the legislature. Conflict between them is inherent in the very nature of the principle of separation of powers and is therefore inevitable. Those here at home who invest our own "confrontation" between the Supreme Soviet and the executive with an ideological significance simply do not understand the problems. Or else they are deceiving other people.

I am sure there are many more "lessons" for us in the changing of the guard in Washington. But I think these give us enough food for thought for today....

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Editor Comments

PM0411154992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Oct 92 First Edition p 7

[Commentary by Sergey Demidov, deputy editor of the international department: "America Changes President"]

[Text] The many months of the presidential campaign in the United States have ended with an impressive victory for the Democratic candidate Bill Clinton. Early yesterday morning Moscow time, the results of the race for the "No. 1 prize"—the White House—became known. According to the voting returns, the "donkey party's" candidate for the country's top state position won the support of the overwhelming majority of voters. On 20 January next year, he will be inaugurated and become the 42d incumbent of the Oval Office in independent America's more than two-centuries-long history.

Observing a long-standing tradition, George Bush, the current head of the U.S. Administration, representing the Republican Party—or, as it is still often called, the "elephant party" or the "Grand Old Party"—conceded defeat and congratulated his rival on his success....

So Americans have made their choice for the next four years and changed their president. The Democrats are back in power after a 12-year break. Speaking to supporters in Little Rock (Arkansas), Clinton stated that the people had thereby voted for a "new start" for the country.

The storming finish by the governor of Arkansas on the first Tuesday following the first Monday in a leap-year November has shown that most Americans are most concerned about their own "troubles"—primarily economic and social—rather than the acute or chronic ills of the outside world. The slump in industrial production and the stalling of the U.S. economic machine in the recent years of Republican rule have forced Americans to virtually bury themselves in themselves and their own problems. Reacting sensitively to the isolationist mood, Clinton built his election campaign on slogans about "reviving" the "American dream." Whereas virtually until the last minute George Bush clearly clung too stubbornly to the straw of his team's foreign policy achievements. That was why he lost. He was not even saved by such a weighty argument in the Republicans' favor as "Washington's winning of the cold war."

Of course, all this is just one, albeit very substantial, reason for the "fall" of the Bush administration from America's political heights. The reasons are now being pored over by political scientists and journalists in various countries and continents. One factor which helped to defeat the 41st U.S. President was clearly the "Ross Perot factor." The Texas billionaire who twice entered the race for the White House as a "third, independent force" seems to have severely clipped the Republicans' political wings not only when, literally on the eve of the party's convention in July, he announced his what proved to be short-lived withdrawal from the contest. In my opinion he still deprived them of more floating voters than he did the Democrats. Incidentally, this question will be comprehensively analyzed and thoroughly discussed in the future. But it is, as they say, already history.

Clinton, though, is beginning—if he has not already done so—to look to the future. He will have to form his team and tackle foreign policy, which was on the "back burner" during his campaign. He has virtually no experience in this area. But it is said that he should be helped in this area by his vice president—the "green" (famous for his defense of the environment) Senator Albert Gore. And if this is so, then there will be no getting away from relations with Russia, too, a number of eminent U.S. specialists in international problems claim.

Well, not for nothing is it said that after elections in democratic states right-wingers move to the left and left-wingers move to the right....

KURANTY Examines Clinton's Domestic Policy

MK0511081592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 3

["Our Commentary" by Mikhail Shchipanov: "'Slick Willy' Despite Everything"]

[Text] So Bill Clinton is champion, excuse me, President. This year's U.S. presidential race certainly excited almost as much passion as a sporting contest. In short, there is no better President, from Boston to Sacramento. Joking aside, a new President means a new policy on the part of the last superpower. What changes does B. Clinton's arrival in the White House threaten to bring?

Clearly, the theme of the priority of domestic policy, which counterpointed the entire election campaign, will continue to dominate in Washington in the immediate future. B. Clinton can be ranked unequivocally among the advocates of moderate U.S. isolationism, a course making it possible to stop, take a look Around, and straighten out domestic problems because only a strong economy will allow the United States to continue to play the role of world leader, beacon, standard-bearer, and so forth.

This line does not mean that the United States will retire completely into its shell across the ocean, but according to Clinton, the United States should not play the role of a "leading and directing force" merely for the sake of it. So the new President will support processes of European integration and will gradually reduce the traditional U.S. spending on the defense of that continent. Initially Europe will be more strongly influenced by Clinton's economic course and his intentions to strengthen the state's influence on general market conditions and to increase investment in the "human factor" and in developing the infrastructure. Indeed, on the currency markets in Europe the dollar already has shot up in the expectation of increased state spending and a hike in interest rates, and now stands at 1.51 German marks. A new term, "Clintonomics," will enter currency and may essentially influence the attitudes of the coming generation of European leaders.

Of course, what most interests us is the "Clinton adjustment" in Russian-U.S. relations. In theory, no cardinal changes should be expected, and there are hopes that in the absence of any global cataclysms, relations will improve consistently. Clinton scarcely will abandon financial support for the Russian reforms, but in all probability, following Democratic traditions, the new administration will be concerned not only with the nature, but also with the form of the changes. The leaders of the party, whose symbol is a donkey, have always tended to pay special attention to democratic procedures and respect for human rights. In the mind of the new administration, these nuances may prevail over the confused content of "shock therapy" and other purely economic matters. In any case, the change of President, in theory, is to the benefit of our diplomacy. During the transitional period there is an opportunity within the framework of diplomatic decency to adjust our overall course, which in the words of Lukin, our ambassador to the United States, has suffered from an excess of "pro-American romanticism."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Notes Bush's Achievements

PM0411172092 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 3

[Mikhail Pogorelyy "Reportage on Election of 42d U.S. President": "Americans Prefer Bill Clinton"]

[Excerpts] America loves rivalries and competitions. America loves winners. And today the United States is applauding Bill Clinton, who wrested from George Bush a victory that a year ago appeared virtually impossible. The 42d president of the United States will be Clinton, the present governor of Arkansas, and not Bush, the current White House incumbent—the man who steadfastly sought the end of the cold war, led his country to victory in a "hot" war against Iraq, extended the hand of aid to the states of Eastern Europe and the former republics of the USSR, and so on, and so forth... [passage omitted reviewing election campaign]

Bill Clinton has been elected the 42d president of the United States. Naturally, what we are most interested in is: How will this fact of internal U.S. political life affect the country's relations with Russia and America's positions in the world arena? Serious students of politics who know their subject say: The stress of election day will be followed by the traditional week of relaxation, fishing, and hunting in some remote corner. Then come active consultations with the "brain trusts" and the formation of his own team—the administration. Hitherto the only person officially harnessed with Clinton has been the vice presidential candidate, 44-year-old Albert Gore, senator from Tennessee, who is known in the country as a specialist in the sphere of ecology, defense policy, and arms control questions. When the new president's team, or at least its backbone, is formed, then the new U.S. leader will deliver his message to the nation, where he will set forth not an election program, but his plan of action for the immediate future. That will be on 20 January, the day the president takes office.

Until then we can only speculate on the basis of an analysis of Clinton's previous statements. He intends, in particular, to rigorously uphold U.S. national interests in all spheres—military, foreign trade, diplomatic. And of course he does not intend to repeat the "mistakes" made by Bush, who, the Americans think, devoted too much attention to foreign policy at the expense of tackling acute domestic problems. Nonetheless Clinton has declared quite clearly his desire to support emerging democracy in the republics formerly belonging to the USSR and to help the young governments of those states to defend citizens' rights and freedoms, including those of national minorities.

And another thing. The presidential election is the main event of the day in the United States. But it is also of no small importance that on the same day, one-third of senators of the U.S. Congress, 100 percent of members of the House of Representatives, 14 state governors, and many state legislators were elected. Estimates suggest that the Senate may become more "Democratic," more liberal, and the House of Representatives more conservative... That will also affect the new cabinet's policy. [passage omitted]

All the same, while respecting the American people's choice, one would wish to pay due tribute to the 41st President of the United States, George Bush. His contribution to the normalization of relations between the United States and Russia and to the establishment of relations of partnership between them is a really historic service.

Article Sees 'No Partner' Under Clinton

PM0411221492 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 3

["Viewpoint" article by observer Aleksandr Vasilyev: "It Bodes No Good for Us"]

[Text] "You can't trust anyone. Only me." That immortal phrase of Bronevoy-Myuller is the best way to characterize everything the U.S. presidential candidates said during the election campaign. Therefore, even if you isolate—from a torrent of words that lasted many months—the remarks made on foreign policy questions by Bill Clinton, the Democrat who won the White House, it is very difficult to construct on this basis any predictions about the future behavior of the United States in the international arena.

The former governor of the totally unremarkable state of Arkansas has nothing like a reputable team capable of rapidly embarking on the implementation of U.S. foreign policy. Consequently, at least in this sphere, the transitional period will drag on a long time, and it can hardly be expected that America's main priorities in international affairs will have been defined even by the middle of next year.

But would it be better if Bill Clinton hurried?—that is the question. Observers note that in the course of the election campaign a good many representatives of former Democratic President Jimmy Carter's administration who were involved with foreign policy were hanging around Clinton. This fact was obviously the reason why Clinton's utterances smacked of Carterite idealism, because of which Jimmy Carter himself suffered a crushing defeat.

If Carter's "boys" become top dogs, just like before in American diplomacy, and if Washington intends to fight for the triumph of democracy and human rights throughout the world, considerable difficulties lie in store for the White House. Such slogans worked effectively on a black-and-white planet divided into "communists" and "imperialists." Times have changed.

In the event that the new administration takes that path, it cannot be ruled out that as early as next year the United States will encounter a serious crisis in some region of the world. And it will itself be the cause of that crisis.

Another possible scenario: America renounces the role of world policeman and returns to the idea of isolationism, which was very popular there before World War II. This possibility cannot be ruled out because the United States is extremely concerned with domestic problems: the economy, education, crime.

So what kind of world will it be without a world policeman? One thing is clear: It will be even less stable. Not for nothing are many people in Iraq celebrating G. Bush's defeat as a national holiday. Consequently, Russia must be on the alert and keep its powder dry. And most important: It must finally realize that the idea of Russian-American global cooperation in establishing a new world order is utopian. In whatever direction Bill Clinton may lead the United States, it is no partner for us.

Moscow International Voices Hope

LD0411211692 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] Bill Clinton was born in a locality called Hope. This is the very word which can be heard quite often now that he has won the presidential elections. With his presidency Americans link their hopes first of all with the solution of their country's economic problems, and people in other countries hope to preserve and expand good relations with the United States, expecting that it will play a constructive role in international affairs.

Expressing corresponding feelings of Russians, President Boris Yeltsin says in his congratulatory cable to Bill Clinton that he hopes for a continuation of the partnership established between Russia and the United States. As election statements by the President-Elect show, Moscow has all grounds for such hopes. There are grounds for optimistic expectations with regard to the establishment of contacts with the United States also in all other countries of the Commonwealth, where Bill Clinton's calls for a more energetic support of the democratic reforms in the former Soviet republics have not passed unnoticed.

During the election campaign, Clinton criticized the administration for being too slow on the matter and urged the Americans to use the unique chance of developing the new markets opening up in Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, and other countries, members of the CIS. Incidentally, with regard to supporting the reforms, the Democratic leader gives priority to greater American investments into the economy of the CIS rather than to humanitarian aid. At that, as he feels, the United States should increase aid to the CIS. As Clinton noted in one of his public statements, giving such aid to democracy was like investing into America's future.

Judging by everything, with Clinton in the White House, there may emerge new prospects also in such fields as arms reductions and conversion of military production. For example, the United States Congress has already approved Bill Clinton's ideas on reductions in the Pentagon's space programs and banning nuclear weapons tests. As for Russia, it is ready to cover its part of the road, which is evidenced by its recent decision to ratify the treaty on strategic arms reductions.

Bill Clinton will be one of the youngest presidents in United States history. He has promised the country a new future. He will enter the White House as the first president elected after the cold war. And with this one more hope can be linked—the hope that people in Washington's corridors of power will no more resort to such notions as conditions and warnings in dealing with Russia or any other country of the CIS. The time for old thinking like this is over.

The President-Elect described his victory in the elections as a new beginning for America. And realization of Bill Clinton's ideas with regard to developing cooperation with the new democratic countries, first of all with Russia and other CIS members, may lead to a new beginning also in international relations.

Article Reviews Clinton's Stance on Russia

MK0511105592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Vladimir Abarinov report under the "United States" rubric: "America Wanted Change and Got It. Moderate Liberal Has Become President, Which by Russian Standards Means a Moderate Conservative"]

[Text] The miracle did not happen. At 0800 GMT Clinton's victory was a foregone conclusion. By this time the Democratic Party candidate had won 33 states commanding 365 votes in the electoral college. A total of 14 states preferred Bush, with a total of 132 electoral college votes. However, in absolute figures Clinton's victory does not look so convincing: He picked up 43 percent of voters' votes, as against 38 percent for Bush and 19 percent for Perot; moreover 15 percent of electors had not yet voted by that time. Therefore the data of recent polls turned out to be absolutely correct.

The election campaign was fought under the slogan of revitalizing the U.S. economy. The United States is far from being the most prosperous Western country. In fact it has a mass of problems of its own, and ultimately the ordinary man in the street was indifferent to foreign policy successes. Moreover, Clinton rightly thinks that "if our economy is weak we will be unable to lead the world we have devoted so much energy to creating."

The new president intends to make sharp cuts in defense expenditure, as well as reduce and reorient the armed forces to repulse regional threats. In foreign policy he intends to defend democratic values and to regard the implementation of market reform as the main condition for granting U.S. aid. Everything he says about Russia looks fine. For example, Clinton is opposed to charity—Russia needs investments, not handouts. "A people who vanquished communism and smashed the putsch have a right to our assistance," he states.

It is a pity that Baker and Cheney are leaving. Let us hope that Clinton's team turns out just as good. We must suppose that there will now be peace and quiet on Capitol Hill: A Democrat president and a Democrat parliament.

The Americans have made their choice, and it is not for us to judge whether that choice is good or bad. It is well known that the people are always right.

Carter Visit Not Connected

OW0411181392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1602 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the information available to DP [Diplomatic Panorama], the mission of the former U.S. President Jimmy Carter who is to arrive in Moscow on Monday for a two-day visit has nothing to do with the outcome of the recent presidential elections which brought victory to the Democratic Party candidate Bill Clinton.

As DP's correspondent learned at Russia's Foreign Ministry, Bill Clinton "has other channels of communication with Moscow". As for Carter, his visit will be private: The former U.S. President is going to Alma-Ata to join a scientific conference on informatics.

Nevertheless Carter expressed his desire to meet with representatives of Russia's political establishment, such as State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Minister for Information and the Press Mikhail Poltoranin and the presidential adviser on political affairs, Sergey Stankevich. So far it's not clear whether these meetings will take place or not.

Shokhin Reviews Talks, Agreements With Cuba's Soto

MK0411134592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 1

[Leonid Velekhov report under the "Diplomacy" rubric: "Cuba Gets Energy, Russia Gets Sugar, and Both Are Very Pleased With the Agreements They Have Signed"]

[Text] Yesterday Aleksandr Shokhin, vice premier of the Russian Government, and Lionel Soto, deputy chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers, signed a whole series of agreements: on trade and economic cooperation, on establishing an intergovernmental commission on trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, on merchant shipping, and lastly on the presence of a Russian radioelectronic center on Cuba. Such high-level talks have not taken place between Russia and Cuba for almost a year. Trade and economic relations have all but vanished—at any rate there has been a clear trend in this direction. Admittedly, back at the end of last year NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA conjectured that Russia's "Cuban" interests, including its military interests, are so substantial that in the final analysis they will not allow the old ties to be broken. On the whole this is what is happening, although Aleksandr Shokhin stressed at a meeting with journalists that relations between the two countries will now be built on a fundamentally different basis from before—fully deideologized and motivated only by considerations of mutual commercial advantage.

There is no question about this, but the actual volume and specific points of the agreements which, after many months of argument, were reached rapidly, albeit with some very tough debates according to some reports, are in many ways sensational.

The main sensation is of course the decision to resume construction of the nuclear electric power station at Juragua. This project, which has cost both countries several billion dollars and has recently remained in a "semifrozen" state owing to both countries' lack of foreign currency reserves, seemed to have been buried forever by a speech in September by Fidel Castro, who announced that construction work would be finally halted. However, it has become apparent that in reply to a letter from Fidel containing a written proposal similar to his speech, Boris Yeltsin sent a message proposing that the matter should not be rushed but that a third partner should be sought who, unlike the other two, should be rich.

This idea underpinned the point in the agreement devoted to the nuclear electric power station; the agreement directs that by 1 February this third partner should be found, that the bilateral project be transformed into a trilateral one, and that construction should continue on a consortium basis. Asked by your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent who this "third party" might be, Shokhin said it would logically be "the one who supplied the equipment." From which we may assume that France could join the project with the rights of a coparticipant.

Another "highlight" of the talks was the agreements reached on military-technical cooperation. This too will be implemented on purely commercial terms, that is to say, as Shokhin put it, "kept to a minimum." The vice premier described as the Russian side's main—and successfully resolved—task the preservation of our radioelectronic center on Cuba. This installation, Shokhin explained, is extremely convenient for Russia as a base for communications with our embassies on the American continent. Asked by your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent whether this means that said center will be entirely reprofiled for such an important civilian purpose and will cease to be an electronic surveillance and eavesdropping station, which it has been until now, Shokhin replied that its intelligence functions will be minimized as far as possible, "although it is clear that our military's interest cannot be confined to relaying telephone conversations."

Asked by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA whether deliveries of Russian weapons will be made to Cuba, the Russian vice premier said that there was no talk of this, but as compensation for siting the said station on the island, our country may supply Cuba with components and spare parts for weapons that Cuba already has. However, we will certainly not supply new sorts of weapons.

The issue of the Russian submarine base at Cienfuegos, according to the vice premier, was not discussed at the talks. Commenting on this topic, Lionel Soto noted that Cuba is an independent country developing its own cooperation, including military cooperation, not at somebody else's bidding, especially that of the United States, but using its own discretion.

With regard to trade and economic cooperation, it is clear that the main components of this will remain Cuban unrefined sugar and Russian oil and oil products. The final figures for deliveries still have to be clarified, because Russia still does not have exact data regarding its oil exports. However, the basic volumes have been stipulated: about 2 million tonnes of sugar in exchange for 3.3 million tonnes of oil and oil products.

The ticklish issue of Cuban debts to Russia has not yet been settled and will be discussed during subsequent work by a specially created intergovernmental commission. Let me remind readers that, according to some reports, this debt fluctuates somewhere in the region of $16-20 billion. However, it is well known that CEMA arithmetic was an obscure science.

Thus, relations between two old friends have basically been renewed. Asked by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA what he had expected from these talks, Lionel Soto replied that he had expected precisely what had happened, and he was pleased with the results of the talks. Aleksandr Shokhin also expressed his satisfaction. Apart from anything else, Russia had here demonstrated a firm line of independence from the opinions of third countries regarding its economic and other contacts.

Article Says Accords With Cuba Likely To Irk U.S.

PM0511113392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Yevgeniy Bay report: "Russia and Cuba Have Reached Agreement on Sugar, Oil, and Electronic Monitoring Base. The Agreement, Signed on U.S. Presidential Election Day, Could Elicit Sharp Reaction from Washington"]

[Excerpts] On Tuesday Russia and Cuba signed agreements on trade and economic cooperation and merchant shipping and also a protocol on commodity turnover and payments in 1993. Questions of military-technical cooperation were also discussed during the two-day intergovernmental talks in Moscow headed by Vice Premier A. Shokhin and L. Soto, vice president of the Cuban Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

The agreement, which satisfied the Cuban side, leaves more questions than it provides answers. It seems that the preservation of minimal relations, to use A. Shokhin's words, of a military-political nature with Castro could elicit an extremely negative reaction from Washington. Having ended up isolated in the international arena, the supermilitarized regime is once again drawing us into its game, which cannot fail to lead to increased confrontation between Russia and the United States. "Components" for Russian tanks and guns for a country which most of the world community has condemned for human rights violations will be placed on a par with Russian submarines for Iran and rocket engines for India.

The story that an agreement had to be concluded with Cuba because of the sugar shortage in Russia also seems unconvincing. According to international experts' data, there has been overproduction of sugar (by approximately 5 million tonnes) in the world this year, and this will lead in the very near future to a drop in the price of this product. We could buy sugar in many other countries on the same or maybe even more advantageous terms than in Cuba.

Finally, the signing of the shipping agreement could also provoke tension in relations with the next U.S. Democratic Administration for, under the "Torricelli bill" recently adopted by Washington, no foreign ship involved in trade with Cuba may call at U.S. ports for six months.

At the same time the fundamental question of Cuba's debts to Russia, which, according to A. Shokhin, amount to the impressive sum of $20 billion, remained unresolved at the talks in Moscow.

Of course, in its policy Russia must proceed from its own national interests. Only the question is: Are our interests where we are seeking them?

WEA General Secretary Says Stable Europe Depends on Russia

OW0411184992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1602 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboinikov, and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia should participate in the activities of European security structures since "without Russia it is impossible to imagine a stable situation in Europe." General Secretary of the Western European Alliance [WEA] Wilhem van Eikelen declared this at a press conference Wednesday in Moscow. He said that at a meeting today with Anatoliy Adamishin, the first deputy minister of Russian foreign affairs, he discussed the possibility of cooperation between Russia and the WEA, especially on the establishment of an "open sky" condition over the majority of European countries.

In a conversation with a DP [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent, Adamishin explained that "the clarification of possible points of contact" was the main object of van Eikelen's visit to Russia. "We need to develop a more general understanding of what form the new Europe should take," said the diplomat. He believes it is necessary to continue a political dialogue not only with the WEA, but also with the advisory organization formed under it which includes Eastern European and Baltic nations in its membership."

First Deputy Minister of Russian Foreign Affairs Vitaliy Churkin, who also talked to a DP correspondent, believes that Russia and the WEA have much in common in what concerns the implementation of operations for supporting peace. In addition, Russia and the WEA feel that all situations requiring the use of peacekeeping forces in Europe should be considered within the framework of the CSCE.

Colonel Gromov Addresses Baltic Troop Withdrawal

PM0411141592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Nov 92 p 3

[Vitaliy Strugovets report: "Russian Troop Withdrawal Continues, Although It Is Proceeding in a More Organized Manner From Distant Foreign Parts Than From Nearby Ones"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin recently signed a directive suspending the Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic states. In accordance with this document, the troop withdrawal will resume after the signing of Russia's interstate agreements with Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. They must govern the Russian troop withdrawal procedure and provide for measures for the social protection of servicemen and members of their families. The president's decision is connected with his profound concern at the numerous violations of the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the said states.

The president entrusted the Russian Government with drawing up temporary agreements with the Baltic states within three days to ensure social guarantees for Russian troop servicemen on the territory of those states. He also made the realization of economic agreements with the Baltic countries dependent on the resolution of this question.

The Russian Foreign Ministry has been entrusted with drawing up a draft presidential appeal to the United Nations asking the world community to examine the question of observance of human rights in the Baltic states. At the same time a number of measures have been outlined with the aim of improving the position of servicemen who are leaving the Baltic region.

Colonel General Boris Gromov, Russian Federation deputy defense minister, spoke of this at a news conference for Russian and foreign journalists on Friday 30 October. In particular, Boris Gromov emphasized that the task of withdrawing Russian troops from distant and nearby foreign countries is one of the most important today not only for the Defense Ministry and the whole Russian Federation but also for other countries. Primarily for the three Baltic states, Moldova, and the Central Asian republics.

Russian troops were withdrawn fully from Hungary and Czechoslovakia last year, 1991. The troop withdrawal from Mongolia was completed by 25 September. All political questions relating to the troop withdrawal from Germany and Poland have also been resolved. The plans which have been drawn up for the departure from these countries are being fulfilled in full. To date, all the combat units and combined units have already been withdrawn from Poland, for example. Just approximately 6,000 servicemen are left there, putting military camps in order and restoring the land of test grounds, i.e. resolving questions connected with the transfer to the Polish side of real estate and territories previously occupied by troops. Approximately 67 percent of the personnel of the Western Group of Forces and 73 percent of the combat hardware have already been withdrawn from Germany. In addition, talks are being concluded on the withdrawal of a separate motorized rifle brigade from the territory of Cuba. The Russian side is satisfied, on the whole, with the progress of these talks. It is planned to complete the brigade's withdrawal by 30 June 1993.

As regards problems of the Russian troops' presence in and withdrawal from nearby foreign parts, here Col. Gen. Gromov called the situation more complex. This applies, above all, to the Baltic countries, whose tough stance on the deadlines for the Russian troop withdrawal has greatly complicated the situation in combined units and units of the Northwest Group of Forces. And not only among the troops. Almost 40,000 veterans of the war and of the Armed Forces living in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have become second-class people today in those countries. They have essentially been deprived of many privileges, medical services, and even citizenship of those states.

Approximately 40,000 servicemen, not counting members of their families, have to be withdrawn from the Baltic states. This year alone it is planned to withdraw more than 24,000 men, of whom 10,382 are officers and ensigns with families.

Col. Gen. Boris Gromov pointed out that the Defense Ministry's position on this question is clear: Troops must be withdrawn only to where stocks have been prepositioned for them in their new places of stationing. As for the timing, the optimum option is the end of 1995, and the very earliest, the end of 1994. But no sooner.

In all, starting in 1989, approximately 500,000 servicemen, more than 12,000 tanks, approximately 13,000 artillery systems, and up to 3,000 aircraft and helicopters have already been withdrawn from the territory of foreign states.

The total costs of transferring and providing amenities on Russian territory for the troops being withdrawn will amount to more than 600 billion rubles [R] in the prices as of 1 November 1992. Taking into account the cost of maintaining them abroad—R725.9 billion and U.S. $594 million.

The most painful and important question today, Col. Gen. Gromov emphasized, is the accommodation of troops on Russian territory. During 1992-1995, according to the data he cited, it is necessary to construct 1,600 apartment blocks, 580 sociocultural and domestic projects, 500 barracks, and 2,500 stores for combat hardware and property.

Therefore a special state program has been prepared, as Boris Gromov reported, for the withdrawal and the provision of amenities for Russian troops on the territory of the Russian Federation.

Churkin: Withdrawal Directive Not Intended for Media

MK0411115592 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin by Mikhail Bredis; place and date not given: "We Have Given Cause for Concern"]

[Text] We have given cause for concern. That is what Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin thinks about the reaction in the Baltic to the Russian president's directive on suspending the withdrawal of Russian troops.

[Bredis] How is the president's directive being implemented?

[Churkin] We have prepared the drafts of temporary agreements. On Saturday they were submitted to the Russian Defense Ministry for coordination. As soon as we get the "okay" from the military, we will pass the drafts on to our Baltic colleagues.

[Bredis] The presidential directive swiftly became famous. What has been the reaction in the Baltic countries?

[Churkin] Negative. This is explicable. After all, the established canons of world practice require that the Baltic countries first be informed of such political decisions through diplomatic channels. We also need to explain the decision. Instead of this the information was given to journalists, to TASS. The mass media, no offense meant, began to pick out particular points and interpret them, often distorting the meaning of the directive. Not to mention the fact that a directive is an internal document not intended for circulation. Our task now is to explain that nothing catastrophic has happened.

[Bredis] Please say a few words about your trip to Tallinn.

[Churkin] This trip has been planned for a long time. I think I will simply explain the situation. It has to be admitted that the Estonian president's reaction to the famous directive was rather considered.

Christian Democrats Approve Troop Withdrawal Suspension

OW0411235192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1723 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Christian Democratic Movement has expressed its approval of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decision to suspend the withdrawal of Russian armed forces from the Baltic countries.

In his statement published today, the movement's chairman, Viktor Aksyuchits, says that, given the grave political and economic crisis in Russia and the Baltic states, hasty attempts to solve the Russian forces problem would be "unrealistic and politically dangerous".

The movement also insists that the Russian leadership react to the "campaign of persecution and discreditation of Russia and everything Russian" launched by extremist forces but raised to the level of government policy.

Yeltsin Permits Commander To Sell Army Stock in Baltics

OW0411233492 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1723 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian plenipotentiary for matters concerning the Russian armed forces in the Baltic States Colonel-General Leonid Mayorov has been empowered by Boris Yeltsin to initiate the sale of stock belonging to the Russian armed forces to state and economic bodies in the Baltic States by agreement with the Russian government. The above information was received by BALTFAX by reliable sources close to the Russian president.

Mayorov has been permitted to hold negotiations and sign agreements in the name of the Russian Ministry of Defence with ministries and departments in the Baltic States regarding material support for servicemen, and the social and legal status of servicemen and other personnel attached to the Russian armed forces and their families.

Mayorov has also been empowered to attend negotiations on contributions from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in the process of re-locating the troops who are being withdrawn.

Political Issues

Government Decides Not To Deviate From Policies

OW0511152392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1433 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian governmental press bureau has announced that a programme on urgent measures for the re-generation of the economy was discussed at a government meeting which took place on Thursday [5 November] chaired by Yegor Gaydar. Also, progress in the preparations for the Congress of Russian National People's Deputies and the political situation in Russia was discussed.

The activity of various groups who were attempting to exert pressure on executive power was highlighted at the meeting. Some senior officials were included on the list of political pressing. These were threatening to force the government into resignation before the congress begins. Those who attended the meeting said that threats were capable only of disorganising the work in hand.

The latter obviously refers to parliamentary Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov's statement on Wednesday about the possibility of proposing a no-confidence motion in the government before the congress.

The meeting confirmed that the government would not deviate from the policies which it had initiated. It was emphasised that nobody except the President of Russia could, according to law, take any kind of decision regarding governmental changes or its resignation.

Yeltsin: No Other Programs To Be Proposed

LD0511155392 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1531 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin does not see much difference between the stand of the Civic Union coalition whose representatives he met on Tuesday [3 November] and the government programme for the deepening of the reforms and the provisional anticrisis programme. Speaking at a news conference in the Kremlin on Thursday, the president said that it is possible to specify or adjust three or four points in the government programmes. "The government will not advance any other programmes", Yeltsin said.

As to changes in the cabinet, although it was agreed not to touch upon this matter, the president said that representatives of the Civic Union show "immoderate appetites" insisting on these changes.

Yeltsin said that representatives of the Civic Union declared in favour of acting chairman of the government Yegor Gaydar retaining his post. "But the number of deputy chairmen of the government and ministers that representatives of the Civic Union mention is such as would virtually destroy the Yeltsin-Gaydar team. Therefore the president will not agree to changes of such proportions", Yeltsin said.

Asked if he is ready to take emergency measures, Yeltsin said that "the policy of reform will surely be rescued". However, "the level of measures will be dictated by pressure of the opposition aimed at destroying reforms".

The president refuted assertions that there is chaos in the country. "There is no chaos at all", he said. "There are difficulties characteristic of a transitional period, difficulties in implementing unique reforms in a unique country".

Yeltsin believes it is not a mistake that he has no political party of his own. "This is a right decision. I am president elected by the people, not general secretary of one of the parties. Therefore I represent all parties and the entire Russian people. I have no intention of creating my own party. I believe that the main social base of the president is the Russian people".

Asked whom he will entrust with governing the country while he is away on visits, Yeltsin said that he is not going to assign this task to anyone. He will be guiding Russia by constantly keeping in touch. "There will be no acting president", he said.

More on Yeltsin Meeting With Civic Union Leaders

Union Says Talks Not Linked to Demands

OW0411185192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1536 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Civil Union's press service qualified attempts to reduce the meaning of the talks between the Civil Union leaders with Boris Yeltsin to the mere demand for government reshuffling as inadmissible distortion of the idea of the meeting. The press service responded to the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETTE publication on November 4 under the headline "Civil Union Demands Sacrifices". Its statement also expressed the supposition that the publication was a "deliberate action aimed at discrediting the Civil Union as well as its attempts to attain civil accord".

The press service said that with the president Civil Union leaders discussed the cardinal problems of public consolidation, and of broadening and adjusting public support for the reforms, as well as the reform-related personnel policies. The list of names given by the author of the publication was obviously made under the impact of previous newspaper publications, exclusively based on suppositions, said the press service.

Meeting 'Entirely Favorable' for Union

MK0511110192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report under the "Power" rubric: "Yeltsin Has Received 'Civic Union' Leaders. Both Sides Have Found They Are 'Very Close To Each Other'"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin met with "Civic Union" leaders in the Kremlin on 3 November. The deputation of Russian centrists included Aleksandr Vladislavlev and Arkadiy Volskiy, leaders of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs and the "Renewal" Union, Nikolay Travkin, chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia, Vasiliy Lipitskiy, chairman of the governing body of the "Free Russia" People's Party, and the coordinators of the "Democratic Center" parliamentary bloc and the "Smena" group, and they were all joined by Igor Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia.

Aleksandr Rutskoy also attended the meeting in his capacity as vice president, not as a member of "Civic Union's" political council.

In his brief introductory speech Yeltsin welcomed his guests, calling "Civic Union" his "strength and support" and at the same time taking to task journalists who slander it in the press. He then let his guests have their say.

By prior agreement, Aleksandr Vladislavlev, Nikolay Travkin, and Vladimir Novikov (the latter is the coordinator of the "Nonparty Deputies" faction) set out "Civic Union's" main positions.

Vladislavlev devoted a large part of his speech to "Civic Union's" ideological platform: "We need to create a civilized modern political mechanism capable of defending the course of reforms and consolidating broad social forces,... we must establish a political framework for economic reforms,... in switching to the market we must combine economic freedom with state regulation."

As essential and specific actions, Vladislavlev proposed that Yeltsin organize a "roundtable" with the participation of "Civic Union" and the "Democratic Choice" and "Russian Unity" blocs, and that he also adopt a declaration of a general-democratic nature.

At the end of his speech, Aleksandr Vladislavlev handed the president the economic program on which Civic Union theoreticians have been working for a full six months.

Vladimir Novikov told Yeltsin about the mood among the body of deputies, adding that it was pointless to postpone the Congress, and instead of this he should make proper preparations for it. In which case everything will shape up fine for the Russian executive branch, "as it did at the sixth Congress, and maybe even better."

During this part of the meeting the participants had no serious disagreements, and the overriding theme was the words "we are very close to each other," which were repeated by many of the participants.

Only the third and possibly the most important cadre issue, on which "Civic Union's" proposals were set out by the straightforward Travkin, caused some difficulties. Having heard out the speech by the leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, Yeltsin promised to think about it and asked Civic Union's leaders to keep their reflections on these questions secret for the time being.

However, the fact that "Civic Union," having made its peace with Gaydar, is still refusing to take a shine to Burbulis, Kozyrev, Poltoranin, Chubays, and Nechayev is no longer a secret to anyone.

On the whole, the results of the meeting seem to be entirely favorable to "Civic Union." "We have gotten everything out of it that we could," one of the participants noted to your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent.

The most likely (and favorable from Civic Union's point of view) scenario of events looks like this: By 15 November essential reorganization takes place in the government cabinet. On the recommendation of Civic Union, Yeltsin appoints several new ministers. Some of Civic Union's opponents lose their high office, some lose their high level of influence. At the same time parliament adopts an anticrisis economic program which integrates the basic components from Civic Union's program documents.

At the same time "Civic Union," possibly together with the most moderate right-wing parties and movements that do not belong to the National Salvation Front, will form a sort of buffer protecting Yeltsin from an attack by the intransigent opposition.

Deprived of powerful government support, the radicals from "Democratic Choice" will have no other choice but to resign themselves to the changed situation.

As a result, the Congress will extend the credit of trust in the Gaydar cabinet (albeit somewhat reformed), and Yeltsin will gain a real political ally who can be seriously relied on.

Of course, it is impossible to totally rule out a completely different—confrontational—version of the development of events whereby an unyielding president would refuse on principle to make any compromises and precipitate a direct power clash with the opposition. In this case it is difficult to forecast the subsequent course of events. The only thing that is clear is that the course of events will be unpredictable and convulsive and could end extremely badly (for the Russian president at least).

IZVESTIYA on Yeltsin-Civic Union Talks

PM0511091592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 92 Morning Edition pp 1,2

[Vasiliy Kononenko: "'Civic Union' Willing to Support B. Yeltsin at Seventh Congress. Demands Government Posts in Return"]

[Text] The following leaders of the "Civic Union" political association came to the Kremlin in the afternoon of 3 November: A. Volskiy, A. Vladislavlev, N. Travkin, I. Klyuchkov, and I. Muravyev. They talked with Vice President A. Rutskoy for 90 minutes and then went with him to President B. Yeltsin's office, where they also had an hour-long conversation.

The report circulated by V. Kostikov, the Russian president's press secretary, indicated that this meeting took place within the framework of B. Yeltsin's consultations with various political currents and Supreme Soviet factions in connection with the preparations for the Congress of People's Deputies. He perceives "Civic Union" to be a real centrist political force.

Both meetings took place behind "tightly closed doors." Moreover, it emerged during your IZVESTIYA correspondent's brief conversation with A. Volskiy and A. Vladislavlev that they had promised the president not to tell the press the content of their conversation. Nevertheless it became known that B. Yeltsin did not consult with the representatives of "Civic Union," but primarily heard out their position, their views of the course of reform and the increasing confrontation between the authorities on the eve of the congress.

He briefly set out his view of the development of events, and then all participants in the meeting (apart from A. Rutskoy, who did not say a word at the meeting, although it is not known whether that was for tactical or other considerations) set out their positions in turn. These statements boiled down to the fact that "Civic Union" supports the strategy behind the reforms that are being carried out under the president's leadership. However, its leaders said that they cannot agree with the tactics, that is with the policy pursued by Ye. Gaydar, and they asked, in return for their support at the congress, for cadre reshuffles within the government. They named the government members whom they do not want to see there and named candidacies from "Civic Union" that should replace these government members,

According to some reports, they expressed a desire for the dismissal of Vice Premiers M. Poltoranin, A. Chubays, and A. Shokhin and Ministers A. Nechayev, A. Kozyrev, and P. Aven. That is the key figures on whom Ye. Gaydar mainly relies. INTERFAX reports that "Civic Union" leaders would like to see their people in these posts: V. Lukin as foreign minister; V. Lipitskiy as minister of press and information; A. Vladislavlev as minister of foreign economic relations; and N. Travkin as minister of the economy.

The president did not respond directly to this proposal, but he did indirectly say that there is to be no question of replacing Ye. Gaydar and his team as a whole. For instance, when he was handed the "Civic Union" anticrisis program, he replied that he is familiar with it and said: "Must this be regarded without fail as an alternative document? A great deal in it coincides with the program for the second phase of reform..." The next time that the talk turned to demands for cadre changes, the president snapped: "Is this tactics or strategy?"

In view of B. Yeltsin's recent statements in Astrakhan and other information that IZVESTIYA has at its disposal, the president will not agree to replace Ye. Gaydar in the near future. As for other government figures, changes are possible there, but within permissible limits for the team's "stability." Otherwise it could resign itself, which would represent a tremendous political blow for the president. The following may confirm that Gaydar and his confederates are willing to do this. A few weeks ago the president ordered amendments to be made to Ye. Gaydar's economic policy, amendments that affected its very foundations. The acting prime minister's response— casting aside the diplomatic veil—was that "you can do that without me."

The meeting's participants agreed to meet again 20 November. Will "Civic Union" leaders change their stance if their demands are not met? There is still that probability. But this is what they told your IZVESTIYA correspondent. A. Volskiy: "We will support the president at the congress, but our economic concept remains unchanged." A. Vladislavlev: "Whom can we support but the president in the situation that has taken shape? Who but him can guarantee stability in Russia?"

Gaydar Unenthusiastic About Union Program

LD0511140192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1335 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—The economic programme of the "Civic Union" group, headed by Arkadiy Volskiy, does not cause much enthusiasm with Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar who said the programme has both correct and dangerous proposals.

The "Civic Union" handed its anti-crisis programme to Russian President Boris Yeltsin saying it is aimed at further reforms through evolution rather than revolutionary leaps ahead.

The programme contains "quite a few absolutely correct, but well- known provisions", Gaydar told TASS on Thursday, adding that many of them are being implemented by the Government for a long time.

There are many pure proclamations as well, calling to "increase effeciency, improve social protection, raise discipline, reinforce organisational work", he said. "We, within our powers, are trying to do that in practice", Gaydar added.

He also warned that there are dangerous provisions in the programme, but did not elaborate.

"I do not see any obstacles to incorporating everything reasonable from this programme or any other into the everyday work of the bodies of power", Gaydar said.

On Thursday he chaired a meeting of the Russian Government which discussed preparations for the coming Congress of Russian People's Deputies and the political situation in the country. The Government pledged its adherence to reforms and denounced attempts of certain officials to join the campaign of political pressure on the Government which disorganise work.

This was a clear reference to Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov who warned on Wednesday that if the Government does not stop to criticise the Parliament lawmakers will force it to resign even without waiting for the Congress of People's Deputies.

Shumeyko on Union Proposals

OW0411211992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1927 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The government has taken into account part of the proposals of the Civic Union's [CU] economic package, with the remainder being accepted, Russia's vice-premier Vladimir Shumeyko said at Wednesday's [4 November] meeting by the Reform Alliance faction. He warned against interpretations that the cabinet policies were being twisted describing the situation as routine.

Shumeyko also spoke of having talked with one of the CU leaders, Arkadiy Volskiy, about media reports that the Movement had its own suggestions for a cabinet shake up. He said Volskiy had denied the allegations saying that if such a statement came from a member of the Change-New Policy faction, the Civic Union would demand it should be expelled from the movement.

The deputy prime minister called for an early delineation of authority between the cabinet and the legislature adding that the parliament must focus on law-making but its executive functions must be withdrawn.

For his part, Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays, called for tighter crediting and fiscal policies to curb inflation. He said the financial policy must be toughened and extra credit infusions in the economy stopped if the situation is to be improved. If not, he said, inflation in January will run at 70% to 80% instead of 20% as planned.

Commentary Urges Examining of Proposals

PM0411214092 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 Nov 92 p1

[Unattributed report citing President Yeltsin remarks on Civic Union, and "commentary" by Professor Yevgeniy Yasin: "Opinions Expressed. Decision To Follow"]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin:

"I see the Civic Union, together with other blocs, as a constructive reformist force, and I am prepared to link the reform strategy and the resolution of cadre problems with this force."

Yeltsin stated that his position and that of the Civic Union are "very close, and this even surpasses his expectations." Furthermore, the president expressed the hope that the Civic Union will also influence the mood at the upcoming Congress and will help to channel the course of events in a constructive direction.

Commentary

Professor Yevgeniy Yasin:

All proposals should be examined. Particularly if they come from organizations and individuals who express views that differ in some way from those of the government concerning the path of the country's further economic development and leave open certain opportunities for reforms.

There is another reason why I would not refuse to examine any of the various proposals: They form a basis, a platform for possible broad cooperation with the government by all interested and representative population groups in the cause of implementing the reforms, for their efforts to be pooled.

In any case, before drawing any conclusions, a professional analysis of the proposals put forward is needed. As far as I know, this has not yet been done. It was only the day before yesterday that Arkadiy Volskiy submitted the Civic Union program for examination by the Russian president. Its actual content will become known later.

Reaction to Union Bid for Reshuffle

MK0511095992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Feature comprising statements by Russian Federation People's Deputy Igor Muravyev, Civic Union, and the president's press secretary, plus editorial postscript: "Accounts Differ. Were Specific Names Mentioned at the President's Meeting with Civic Union Leaders or Not?"]

[Text] Russian Federation People's Deputy Igor Muravyev:

"NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's issue No. 213 for 4 November carries a report by Sergey Parkhomenko headlined 'Civic Union Demands Victims' which, citing my statement, says that at a meeting with President Yeltsin representatives of 'Civic Union' demanded the resignation of a large group of ranking figures in the Russian administration (the report gives specific names).

"In this connection I would like to state that I did not mention any specific names of members of the Russian Government at all in my conversation with the paper's correspondent.

"It is surprising that a respected publication like NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA should have published for the umpteenth time untrue information about the activity of 'Civic Union.' I very much hope that similar misunderstandings will not arise in the future."

"Civic Union" statement:

"In connection with the publication in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA for 4 November 1992 of S. Parkhomenko's report 'Civic Union Demands Victims,' the 'Civic Union' press service reports that Russian President B.N. Yeltsin's meeting with Civic Union leaders discussed fundamental problems of the consolidation of social forces, the expansion of the social base of the reforms, and also their adjustment, including questions of the necessary support in the form of cadres. The attempt to reduce the meeting to a demand for personnel reshuffles in the government is an impermissible distortion of its content and significance and perhaps also a deliberate action aimed at discrediting Civic Union and its attempts to achieve social consensus. The list of names cited by the author of the report was clearly compiled under the influence of previous newspaper articles based solely on conjecture."

Statement by the president's press secretary:

"After the Russian president's meeting with representatives of 'Civic Union' to discuss the possibility of cooperation between various centrist political forces and the Russian president and government with a view to making the reforms more stable, the press, citing the opinion of 'Civic Union,' published a list of politicians who are supposed to resign.

"In this connection I must report that Russian President B.N. Yeltsin listened to the personnel proposals voiced during the meeting by way of information. These proposals are exclusively the view of the persons who voiced them. During the meeting the president did not enter into any discussion of personnel matters.

"In the name of the president I am authorized to state that he does not and will not tolerate any pressure on these matters from any political forces.

"For the sake of political stability in the country the president is ready for dialogue and for a quest for sensible compromises. At the same time he is extremely surprised by the 'personnel appetites' demonstrated by certain persons attending the meeting and resolutely rejects the style of 'political bargaining.'"

Postscript: Unfortunately, we are compelled to confirm that the information about the names mentioned at the meeting was provided by Igor Muravyev on Tuesday evening at the White House. Several journalists took part in the conversation (including a correspondent of INTERFAX, which reported this information as well as NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA). I. Muravyev did not say to them, as happens in such delicate situations, that this information was "not for publication" but was for their own personal information.

Union's Clout Seen as Overstated

PM0511103192 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Nov 92 p 1

[Petr Akopov article: "Industrialists Prefer State Guarantees to Civic Union's Ambitions"]

[Text] There have never been any mass nationwide political parties in Russia whose influence on big-time politics was determined by the number of their supporters or their degree of organization (with the possible exception of the Socialist Revolutionary party in its 1917 form). This assertion is axiomatic, but nevertheless we periodically forget about it when we are charmed by the emergence of the latest party or new movement or association. Of course, we very much want to behold the emergence of a new "ruling and guiding" successor to the "party of the new type" as quickly as possible. No, no, not an ideological one—but how we have yearned for a powerful association (of supporters of reform, patriots, nationalists, liberals, to stress the essentials). And we wait for years without one appearing, emerging, or coming forth... But finally, last summer something came into being which made everyone realize immediately that it had happened. Civic Union was born. It was born, was baptized, and immediately started gaining weight and growing fat. Admittedly, the strengthening of Civic Union mainly took place in the pages of certain "independent" newspapers, who presented the association of several dozen politicians in the capital as a powerful influential political force in society. It was hinted in every possible way that this force has its own view of the reform policy being carried out by Yeltsin's government. The basic distinctive feature of Civic Union was the presence of a whole galaxy of "eminent" politicians in it: Rutskoy and Travkin, Volskiy and Lipitskiy. Weighty political figures lent Civic Union reputability and were meant to instill fear in political philistines. "Rutskoy enjoys great popularity among the people," "Volskiy is backed by the generals of the military-industrial complex,"—such "truths" were instilled in society by many mass media. After that, as deputies from the "Democratic Center" joined the political factions supporting the Civic Union, it turned into a serious parliamentary force. Support from the biggest Russian trade union association—the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia—also served to reinforce Civic Union's positions. It seemed that the president, exhausted by the searches for a social base, was only a step away from proposing the formation of a coalition government to Civic Union leaders. Backstage contacts between Yeltsin and Civic Union leaders provided some grounds for hopes of this. But then certain events occurred which seemed strange at first glance.

To clarify Civic Union's real authority, you have to understand that on inspection, the aforementioned pluses of Civic Union turn out to be... minuses. Volskiy never had any real support either from the military-industrial complex or even from the majority of "ordinary" industrialists. What did he have? Arkadiy Ivanovich played around with industrial bigwigs, and attempted to present himself as a lobbyist. It cannot be said that they were very successful attempts. The parliamentary factions in Civic Union do not possess serious political influence outside the walls of the "White House," and the trade unions are more capable of loud statements than of real leadership of the working movement. The optimistic hopes of politicians who were already aiming for ministerial portfolios quickly paled. Politicians from the president's entourage who did not cherish any friendly feelings toward their political rivals did not waste time either. Several clever political moves on their part forced the "allies" to become very alarmed. Power, which had seemed to be almost in their hands, was moving further and further away. Panic broke out on the captain's bridge.

The last nail in the coffin of the short-lived Civic Union will be the congress of the Union of Russian Commodity Producers, which will gather in two weeks and is a force that really reflects the interests of the directors. By all accounts, Yeltsin has been able to reach direct agreement with the industrialists, without any mediators: By a decision of the president, Yuriy Skokov has been appointed coordinator for the preparation for the congress.

Officials Urge Center Right-Civic Union Government

MK0511111592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 2

[Yuriy Lebedev report under the "Opposition" rubric: "Opposition Proposes a Coalition Government. Right-Wing Centrists Prepared To Share New Cabinet Seats With 'Civic Union'"]

[Text] A news conference held by Russian National Assembly Cochairman Aleksandr Sterligov and Russian Revival Union leader Dmitriy Rogozin took place 4 November at Moscow's Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Soviet. The theme was "Relations Between Right-Center Parties and Movements and 'Civic Union' on the Question of Possibly Forming a New Government."

In the opinion of Dmitriy Rogozin, the most farsighted thing the Russian president could do would be to organize a "roundtable" with the participation of parties of a centrist and right-center orientation, the result of whose work would be the formation of a new coalition government. In Rogozin's opinion, "Civic Union," the Russian Christian Democratic Movement, the Russian National Assembly, the Russian Revival Union, and a number of other associations could get actively involved in forming this government. A degree of continuity with the former cabinet would be preserved in all of this. Thus, according to the participants at the news conference, Yegor Gaydar could perfectly well make a bid for the post of deputy prime minister and finance minister.

In Rogozin's opinion, a major change in the government's membership and corresponding change in the government's course would ultimately benefit the president himself. After all, by doing this, Yeltsin would noticeably moderate any opposition attacks at the upcoming Congress of Russian Deputies.

The other participant at the news conference—General Sterligov—stated that the National Salvation Front, around which the intransigent opposition has united, is a "tatty formation." In Sterligov's opinion, this sort of formation is unlikely to exist for long "unless, of course, the president helps it with his edicts."

As an alternative, Sterligov proposed that oppositionists should "consolidate around the Russian movement," establish a coordinating council, and "elect a strong figure as chairman."

At the same time, according to Sterligov, the Russian National Assembly, which he heads, has already become a fairly powerful and financially independent organization which maintains contacts with entrepreneurs, leaders of defense enterprises, and also carries out work in the officer corps.

Regarding the possibility of consolidating with "Civic Union," Sterligov referred to its leader Arkadiy Volskiy in rather negative terms, calling him "a lightweight politician who states his support for the reforms course when there is no trace of actual reforms."

Nevertheless, oddly enough General Sterligov's present position looks more moderate than that of the intransigent "frontists," who are demanding the immediate resignation of both the government and the president.

An organized association of centrists and right-wing parties seems extremely unlikely, but it is perfectly possible that "Civic Union" has coordinated some of its actions with representatives of the moderate opposition (for example the Russian Christian Democratic Movement and the Russian Revival Union).

Insist on Specific Cabinet Changes

OW0411193392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1709 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A government formed with the participation of Civic Union would not fundamentally change the situation in the country, announced Russian National Council Co-Chairman General Aleksandr Sterligov at a

Wednesday [4 November] press conference in Moscow. In his opinion, Russia cannot "remain a hostage" to the Democratic Russia political movement, which "has already exhausted all its potential."

In the current situation, said Sterligov, President Yeltsin "should ascend on the interests of various groups with which he links his policy, and open a dialogue with a broader spectrum of opposition forces."

In the opinion of Sterligov and Dmitriy Ragozin, the head of the Union for the Rebirth of Russia, who also participated in the press conference, the most acceptable way to stabilize the situation in Russia and accomplish an economic transformation is for the president to hold "round table" discussions with the opposition and form a broad coalition no later than 15 November. They announced in relation to this that they would insist on Yeltsin's delegating some of his authority to others, and on the replacement of "the most odious figures of the former government—Burbulis, Kozyrev, Poltoranin, Nechayev, Aven, and others."

Acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar may, in their opinion, stay in the government, but only as minister of finance. Sterligov and Razogin believe that the premier must be a person with support in financial and industrial circles, and also in entrepreneurial structures. The cabinet head should not represent the interests of any political party.

Sterligov noted that he did not consider it essential that neocommunists take part in the government: "The idea of communism has no future, and its followers will have no influence."

Yeltsin, Reform Coalition Discuss Importance of Unity

OW0411212192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1926 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin on November 4th held a meeting with the co-ordinators of the parliamentary reform coalition in the Kremlin as part of his preparations for the Congress of Russian Peoples Deputies. The problems being encountered by Russia's democratic movement at its current stage were discussed, and the importance of unity of the democratic forces in the face of extremist activity was emphasised.

The deputies informed the president of what was agreed at reform coalition's conference which took place on Tuesday [3 Nov] and of the plans of "Democratic choice", the next forum of which will take place on November 29th.

Deputy: Yeltsin Backing Gaydar

OW0511163192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy Sergey Yushenkov, one of the leaders of the parliamentary faction of reforms, reported to INTERFAX that during his meeting with the representatives of the coalition, Boris Yeltsin declared that he was not going "to give up Gaydar's team." According to Yushenkov, the president refuted the information stating that he allegedly "favorably reacted" to the proposals of the "Civic Union" [CU] concerning staff rearrangements in the government. Yeltsin underlined that if staff rearrangements were implemented according to "CU" proposals, this would mean the halting of reforms and forced resignation of Yegor Gaydar. So far, the president believes that it is necessary to make several replacements in the Cabinet of Ministers but "one can speak about 2 or 3, maximum 4 members of the cabinet excluding the key officials," Yushenkov said.

According to the deputy, during his conversation with the leaders of the parliamentary coalition, the president gave "an indirect confirmation to the fact that the "Civic Union" had presented the list of staff rearrangements to the government."

Says Yeltsin To Attend Reform Forum

OW0511112792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1039 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin intends to attend the forum of supporters of reforms organized in Moscow on November 29 at the initiative of democratic groups in parliament and public movements. This was disclosed to IF [INTERFAX] by the leader of Radical Democrats Sergey Yushenkov who met the president on Wednesday [4 November].

Reform Coalition Holds Conference 3 Nov

MK0511093192 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 2

[Vladimir Todres report under the "Congress" rubric: "Reform Coalition Prepares for December But Avoids Calculating Worst-Case Scenarios"]

[Text] It looks as though the nucleus of the "government party" at the Congress will total around 120 people. At any rate, that is how many people's deputies responded to the call from the leaders of the parliamentary reform coalition and assembled for a conference of the bloc on 3 November. And although there will certainly be far more defenders of Gaydar's team and course when the Congress gets to work in the Kremlin in a month's time, there can be scarcely any question that, however things pan out, the reform coalition will not have a majority of

Congress votes unless it devises some entirely unexpected and effective tactics of behavior.

However, the conference indicated once again that almost nothing has been added to the poor range of tactical options. The coalition still thinks the Congress could be postponed until the spring—if the Supreme Soviet is asked to do this not only by its members but by President Yeltsin himself making a personal appearance in parliament for this purpose. "When the president himself appeals to the Supreme Soviet, it does not often refuse," Sergey Yushenkov, leader of the "Radical Democrats" faction, believes.

The coalition members have probably not given serious thought to the struggle at the Congress itself. "We must turn this meeting into a stage on which all the main political forces set out their views," Yushenkov declared. It is clearly with this aim (rather than the aim of winning more supporters in the Grand Kremlin Palace) that the coalition has elaborated a "Program for Deepening the Reforms." This document, couched in the tones of "early Gaydar," reproaches the government by no means for shunning compromise decisions but, on the contrary, for inconsistency and a tendency to make unjustified concessions. The democrats' resolution insists that the main instrument for combating the increase in prices should be not the pumping out of money but broad privatization, the full collection of lowered taxes, and an "effective—unlike the present one—antimonopoly policy by the government." The resolution says that the reform coalition "condemns the government decisions on creating holding companies" and "notes the pernicious influence of the oil and other export lobbies on the cabinet." There can scarcely be any serious talk of a possible agreement with the "directors' lobby" in the Supreme Soviet, which is the only thing that could bring the democrats even a relative victory. Against the background of these abrupt demands the carrots offered to the opposition look rather ridiculous—assurances of a "readiness to make concessions": for instance, to "extend the period for the examination of presidential edicts in the Supreme Soviet from seven to 10 days." Such "concessions" will not satisfy even the moderates: They will not be enough...

However, it appears that the reform coalition is not abandoning hopes of resolute pre-Congress steps by the president himself. It was no accident that Sergey Yushenkov remarked that the "legitimacy of a president elected by the whole people is certainly greater than the legitimacy of a Supreme Soviet elected in communist times." But what will the defenders of radical reform do if the president himself, on the basis of the prevailing political situation, agrees to a fundamental change in not only the personnel but the strategy of the cabinet? The coalition leaders do not like to answer that question, citing the "Oedipus effect": If you seriously think about something bad, it is sure to happen. "Yeltsin must realize that a real departure from the course of reforms would turn him into a political corpse," Yushenkov told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent.

Reform Coalition Spokesmen on Precongress Agenda

PM0511112992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Oct 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Nikolay Andreyev report: "The Congress Is Unlikely To Be Postponed, the Parliamentary Coalition for Reforms Believes"]

[Text] At a news conference held in the Russian parliamentary center, coalition representatives G. Zadonskiy and S. Zasukhin expounded tactics for the period of preparation for the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies.

The tactics are as follows: Given that this natural disaster obviously cannot be averted now, the coalition will try to draw at least some benefit from this labor-intensive and expensive undertaking. The coalition considers the adoption of a law on land to be that benefit. The coalition is one of the initiators of a petition in support of a referendum on private land ownership.

G. Zadonskiy and S. Zasukhin describe the current political situation as having become severely aggravated. The chief culprit here is the Supreme Soviet, which is striving to acquire for itself functions unbecoming to parliament. The culmination of this battle was the Supreme Soviet's refusal to postpone the congress. In the coalition's opinion, the congress will be used as a powerful instrument in the battle for a redivision of power. Along with this, the coalition does not believe that all possibilities for changing the political situation have been exhausted, and for this reason the parliamentary factions that make up the Coalition for Reforms have asked B. Yeltsin to consider the possibility of a direct appeal to the people's deputies to support the idea of postponing the congress.

The news conference participants expounded their view of the recent National Salvation Front Congress. They believe that the opponent of the policy of the Russian president and Gaydar's cabinet does not have mass support among the people and lacks a social base. However, the heads of organizations which are numerous in name but few in numerical strength continue, despite this, to whip up the atmosphere, not stopping at anticonstitutional calls for the overthrow of legitimate organs of power. At the same time, it was noted that Yeltsin's statement and edict on the National Salvation Front testify not to the president's strength but to his weakness. In their view, the situation is not yet such that the president should display such threats and actions.

The people's deputies also expressed concern that coercive [silovoy] structures, particularly the Russian Security Ministry, are becoming an increasing threat to society, at a time when there is no operational and public system of monitoring coercive power structures.

The Coalition for Reforms intends to hold a forum of its supporters—"Democratic Choice" and the Congress of the Intelligentsia—at the end of November on the eve of the congress.

Democratic Reform Movement Outlines Crisis Plan

LD0411172292 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1214 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The Russian Democratic Reform Movement headed by former mayor of Moscow Gavriil Popov suggested introducing a presidential rule in Russia for the transitional period and to form a coalition government of constructive forces.

The statement by the Political Council of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement on the situation in the country circulated at a news conference on Thursday suggests the programme of overcoming the crisis. It proposes, specifically, to introduce a special mechanism of transition for the period until the powers of deputies and the executive authorities expire, that is for two and a half years.

The Democratic Reform Movement believes it is expedient to introduce the presidential rule in Russia and terminate the operation of the present Constitution in the first stage of the transitional period, from December 1992 till the election of new government bodies in 1995. It is suggested preserving councils and the parliament as consultative bodies in counter balance to the presidential authority until the powers of the council and the parliament expire.

The Democratic Reform Movement holds that, in addition, a political-consultative council should be formed at the president. It should consist of representatives of parties and movements. A Council of Nationalities should be formed of representatives of ethnic groups in Russia. There must be a Regional Council, consisting of representatives of regions, and a Security Council.

The Democratic Reform Movement believes that for the transitional period the president should work out a minimum programme of economic and social reforms that would receive the support of broad political forces. On the basis of this programme, the president should form a government of constructive forces, the statement says.

The Democratic Reform Movement believes that a constituent assembly should be elected not later than February 1993 to work on a new constitution.

If the parliament or the Congress of People's Deputies do not approve of the president's programme for overcoming the crisis, the president holds a referendum in Russia, and if his programme is endorsed, he puts it into operation by decrees, the statement says.

Gavriil Popov told reporters that the text of the proposals of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement for overcoming the crisis was sent to Boris Yeltsin, but his attitude is not yet known. The chairman of the Democratic Reform Movement called for cooperation of broad political forces to implement the minimum programme and form a government of constructive forces. He does not preclude the possibility of cooperation with some forces in the oppositional Front of National Salvation. In answer to ITAR-TASS, the chairman of the Democratic Reform Movement said that he cannot visualise such a government without the participation of representatives of the Civic Union.

Wants 'Presidential Rule'

MK0511085592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 2

[I.Sh. report: "Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms in Favor of Presidential Rule"]

[Text] The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Council has adopted a statement "On the Situation in the Country." The way the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, headed by Gavriil Popov, sees the situation in the country, "Russia's citizens want reforms, but no bloc of forces capable of implementing truly real reforms has yet emerged within the system of power." The members of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Council have reached the conclusion that in the current situation it would be promising to establish presidential rule for two and a half years, whereby the operation of the present Constitution would cease, the president would become head of state, real power would be concentrated in the hands of executive organs, and the soviets and parliament would become consultative organs until the expiry of their powers. According to this blueprint, consultative organs would be set up under the president; he would consult with them and elaborate a minimum program setting out the measures that are now most essential: for agrarian and military reform, privatization, the reform of public health, education, science, and culture, and so forth. The Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms is suggesting to the president that he form a government of constructive forces on the basis of this program. This would include people who recognize the program and are prepared to work on implementing it. A Constituent Assembly would be elected to adopt the constitution, and before the end of the transitional period it would have to ratify it and the law on elections, and also hold elections of all branches of power.

In the opinion of members of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Council, the proposed scenario for emerging from the crisis requires firm understanding between the president and parliament. All the main decisions must be made by the president, and they must all be approved by the Supreme Soviet and Congress. In the event of nonapproval the president would hold a poll of Russia's population and put the program into effect by means of his own edicts. Asked by journalists whether this blueprint was not tantamount to a call for a coup d'etat, Gavriil Popov replied that, since the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms is openly proposing it, there is nothing illegal in this. The members of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Political Council think that the president should not necessarily be Boris Yeltsin.

More on 4 Nov Security Council Meeting

LD0411231892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2046 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The Security Council of the Russian Federation which held a session on Wednesday [4 November] at the Kremlin under the chairmanship of President Boris Yeltsin, considered problems of the settlement of the armed conflict in North Ossetia and Ingushetiya, the president's press service reported today.

The Security Council also examined some issues dealing with the Russian troops' withdrawal from the Baltic countries and the Abkhazian leadership's appeal to render humanitarian aid to the people of this republic. Members of the Security Council heard a report on the measures taken to implement the Russian president's decree on the struggle against crime and corruption.

NSF Member Predicts Reduction of Yeltsin Power

PM0411170192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Nov 92 p 1

[Article by Professor Eduard Volodin, member of the National Salvation Front, NSF, Political Council: "Before December"]

[Text] To understand the actions of the Yeltsin-Gaydar provisional government and assess its conduct in November with a sufficient degree of probability you have to precisely characterize the aims that this government and this president are pursuing.

Everyone is aware that the mischievous formula of "radical reform" clumsily conceals the aim of creating criminal capitalism in Russia. I stress not capitalism in general but a criminal system of rule by criminal mafia structures. The wholesale plundering of the population, corruption at all levels of power, and the legalization of criminal capital—these are enough facts to justify and corroborate the claim that criminal capitalism is hastily being built up before our very eyes.

To confirm this let me quote the words of Ye. Gaydar that the aim of his government is to create a class of property owners. Thereby the acting premier confirmed that a unique social experiment is being conducted in Russia aimed at the artificial, short-term creation of a ruling class. But since entrepreneurs are being radically wiped out, the role of property owner is rapidly being taken over by middlemen, mercenary state employees, and those selfsame criminal clans.

The deliberate destruction of the national economic complex and the eradication of the base and high technology sectors of industry are aimed at relegating a great power to the ranks of the underdeveloped, ripe for subsequent invasion by foreign capital, which itself will decide what to develop in the Russian economy and how. Criminal compradors have already accepted the task and are using all the means at their disposal to carry it out.

Given the total lack of industry of any any sort in the colonies [promyshlennost v koloniyakh], the main asset here was and remains the land and its resources. According to present predictions, Russia's industry will grind to a halt by 1994. Therefore, there is one year left for the population to cling on to the ephemeral hope of survival, having a job, and not getting sucked into an all-out social battle. In that year it is necessary to take control of the land and its resources so as to mitigate by means of hired farm and other labor the planned social explosion in which the "surplus mouths and working hands" are to destroy one another.

What I have said about the character of power and its aims, I repeat, is common knowledge. Even when the "500 Days" program was being noisily discussed, it was clear then that another social revolution in favor of the rich was being prepared, and Yeltsin's acquisition of extra powers and the Gaydar government's first steps have confirmed that he revolution has begun. The fact that this antipeople revolution is proceeding with difficulty and is misfiring has absolutely nothing to do with "democracy" or "pluralism." The hitches in the revolution are due to the fact that it is impossible to quickly create a criminal-comprador bourgeoisie through the meek submission of the people. The people are resisting with their own chosen form of civil disobedience—by ignoring edicts on the disbandment of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, not taking part in the general corruption by means of speculation, and living off their own produce, even though all the conditions have been created for the mass annihilation of the people.

The realization that in Russia the situation is developing toward the establishment of the political rule of the criminal-comprador bourgeoisie has forced the left and right opposition to unite. The unification of left and right has taken place to save the nation state and this aim is far deeper and more long-term than just the political struggle against the ruling regime.

By 1 December the arrangement of forces will be roughly as follows. There is the president and the government, relying on frenzied "democrats" in the Supreme Soviet, specific entrepreneurs and their personnel, a section of the state apparatus, and certain forces in the law enforcement organs. To these should be added the post-August Army generals.

The regime realizes that all that it is scraping together is not enough to hang on to power. If all these conditions persist, on 1 December Yeltsin will be deprived of his extra powers and the Ye. Gaydar government will resign. Had they accomplished all that they set out to do, they would have expected and welcomed that departure so as not to bear responsibility for all that the people are going to endure the winter. However, the problem of wholesale privatization, that is, the appropriation of the people's property by the anti-people criminal class, has not been resolved. Nor has the question of the buying and selling of land been resolved. The Constitution, which sanctifies the revolution of the criminal-comprador bourgeoisie, has not been forced through. Consequently, the main tasks spelled out by Yeltsin in his program-cum-inaugural address to the U.S. Senate have not been fulfilled either. Therefore, the regime will hold onto power to the end and will use all the means and methods at its disposal for that purpose.

The mounting propaganda campaign against the National Salvation Front [NSF] shows that work is in progress to discredit the constitutional opposition to the present regime. But what does the people's president say?

Since spring he has periodically spoken about dissolving the Congress and the Supreme Soviet, accustoming us to the idea that this is perfectly practicable. In Astrakhan his thoughts were embellished with phrases about the outmoded Constitution and the swearing of an oath to the people. Word for word, it was just like in the well known era of revolutionary legality and justice. If you add to that the preparation of edicts which operate directly [ukaz pryamogo deystviya] and comments on a mild (?) form of presidential rule, the question of the dissolution of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet has already gone from the realm of speculation to the period of practical implementation. Presumably after the "meetings with the people" there will be statements on a universal desire to abolish the constitutional structures of the legislature. "Moving toward the wishes of the working people," as it were...

Such a step, regardless of the regime's subsequent actions, is not only unconstitutional but also characterizes the government's actions in the conditions of the extraordinary situation [chrezvychaynoye polozheniye] which it itself has created. Therefore, right after the unconstitutional edict on the disbandment of the NSF, the Political Council urged citizens to continue working to create organizations and cells of the NSF locally in defense of the Russian Constitution. We are confident that only by consistently and unswervingly obeying the Constitution will it be possible to prevent the victory of the criminal-comprador clans and preserve the independence of the fatherland.

But here is an alarming fact. It was stated quite a long time ago that our missiles are not targeted on military or strategic installations of the United States and its allies. This means that our nuclear missile complex is disarmed and the country is defenseless against the nuclear blackmail of a "potential enemy" who is already controling the course of specific revolutionary transformations in Russia and achievements in this sphere and is assessing the level and quality of "democracy" in our country. Could it not be that during December we will be threatened with foreigners pointing the "nuclear finger" at us so as to promote the process of "democratization"? This question is all the more relevant since in the first few months of the brash campaign over humanitarian aid to the Soviet Union, U.S. and NATO military transport personnel checked the suitability of virtually all our civil and military airfields...

There is more. The Army and the officer corps are rapidly being disarmed. Standard issue weapons are being removed and taken away to dumps and arsenals. Regiments and divisions do not have enough automatic rifles to perform guard duty. In the event of a state of emergency these military subunits will be unable to operate effectively and the "gunmen" from the mafia bodyguard detachments will be able to keep the military units in their sights. Or there is another scenario. In conditions of a state of emergency [chrezvychayshchina] the Army plays the role of a neutral observer (recall Netkachev in the Dniester and what he did) whereas... Finally, this disarmament is taking place to the accompaniment of loud declarations of loyalty by Defense Minister Grachev to the president and the president alone. What is the point of that?

The NSF understands that the country has reached the point where the catastrophe could become irreversible. We clearly realize that the defense of the Constitution is now the defense of civil society [grazhdanskiy mir] and of the remaining potential for reviving the country and the people. We shall not shrink from that. There can be no backing down now.

Front Queries Parliament on Legality of Ban

OW0411193492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1709 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Political Council of the National Salvation Front has made an inquiry to the Russian parliament concerning the legality of Boris Yeltsin's ban on this organization, member of the Political Council Aleksandr Krayko informed IF [INTERFAX].

He said that the Political Council is planning to hold an open conference attended by journalists to demonstrate the public that the National Salvation Front does not do anything that might be qualified as anti-constitutional.

Krayko said that the National Salvation Front continues to set up local branches.

NSF's Zyuganov Interviewed on Yeltsin Ban

PM0411174492 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 30 Oct 92 p12

[Interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, Russian National Salvation Front, NSF, cochairman, in Moscow by unidentified interviewer; date not given]

[Excerpt] Moscow—[Passage omitted] [L'UNITA] And so, you of the "Front" are illegal...

[Zyuganov] That is what Mr. Yeltsin thinks. Whereas Article 50 of the Russian Constitution gives citizens of the country the right to form associations, and they can only be deprived of this right by a court judgment. No one else, not even the president, can forbid it. From the point of view of international law, in the latest version of the Constitution there are clauses confirming that we have signed international agreements and that we acknowledge their priority over internal legislation insofar as personal freedom is concerned. Juridically this decree of Yeltsin's does not have a leg to stand on.

[L'UNITA] Yeltsin said that immediate steps must be taken to stop your activities. You replied that you will act in any case, even in secret...

[Zyuganov] Yeltsin has already outlawed many things. He outlawed the Union and caused civil war to break out in five republics; he outlawed the party and thus split society, and now he is attacking the right of citizens to get together to form movements that they feel to be necessary to save the country from mass unrest. We shall make an official appeal to the Constitutional Court, we shall send all the documentation to the Ministry of Justice, and we shall stand by the decision that the judiciary makes. He can ban any organization, but he cannot ban me as a citizen, as a Russian.

[L'UNITA] The president maintains that you are acting unconstitutionally. You maintain the opposite, but he denounces your destabilizing intentions designed to foment unrest. Is that how it is?

[Zyuganov] Look, excuse me, but who has caused civil war in the country? Who has brought the entire Russian economy to an almost complete standstill? Who has abandoned 30 million Russians living in other republics to their fate? Who has deprived them of citizenship? Who has left children and old folk without even basic social security? And finally, who has dismantled the Army and trodden all over it? Let him answer these questions.

[L'UNITA] What exactly are your aims?

[Zyuganov] Our aim has been clearly formulated: to unite the people so as to prevent civil war from breaking out again in Russia. Since this regime will collapse anyway. It represents the interests of 10 percent at the most, since it introduces a system whereby one person robs nine others and promises them he will share profits if he manages to make any. Systems like these have never existed anywhere in the world, or if they have, they have rested on bayonets and violence. And that requires a powerful army and machinery for repression. Yeltsin has neither one. That is why his actions cause civil war and unrest, causing a definitive split in society.

[L'UNITA] Are there any forces among you that could be called fascist?

[Zyuganov] Certainly not, for heaven's sake, do I look like a fascist to you?

Administration Explains Legality of Front Ban

PM0411174592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Russian Federation State-Law Administration explanation of legality of B. Yeltsin Edict "On the Measures to Defend the Russian Federation's Constitutional System"]

[Text] The administration reminds the public that in the so-called National Salvation Front's documents and resolutions and in a number of speeches made at its congress, you can trace the purposes of the organization that is being created and the forms and methods of its activity, many of which are in direct contravention of articles in the Russian Federation Constitution, the Law "On Defending Constitutional Organs of Power in the Russian Federation," the Law "On Defense," the agreement "On Forming a Commonwealth of Independent States" (which the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet ratified on 12 December 1991), and a number of other Russian Federation laws and international treaties.

These documents contain:

a) appeals to depose the country's legally elected president and the government and to hand over central and regional power in its entirety to locally created national salvation committees and support for the illegal so-called "permanent Presidium of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies" which is in direct contravention of the Russian Federation Constitution and the Law "On Defending Constitutional Organs of Power in the Russian Federation;"

b) threats to the territorial integrity and state independence of the sovereign states and former USSR Union republics with the aim of restoring the USSR, going as far as economic pressure and threats of force, and direct insults against the peoples of these states, which contravene the norms of international law, and specifically the agreement "On the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States" and the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decree on its ratification;

c) appeals to servicemen to disobey the defense minister's orders and to carry out antigovernment propaganda in military units which are in direct contravention of the Law "On Defense," and the requirements of the military oath and military regulations;

d) appeals for civil disobedience and the solution of the problem of power by force.

Article 7 of the Russian Federation Constitution and Article 3 of the USSR Law "On Public Associations" do not permit formation and the activities of public associations that try to overthrow and change the constitutional system by force, undermine the state's security, whip up social hostility, including class and ethnic hostility, or the formation of public paramilitary associations.

Article 8 of the aforementioned law stipulates that public associations are formed at a constituent congress (conference) or a general meeting, at which their rules are adopted and ruling organs are formed. At the National Salvation Front congress no ruling organs were formed and a decision was adopted "to charge the National Salvation Front's organizing committee with carrying out the functions of the Front's national council and political council during a period of organization, while the Front's national council is being formed."

In accordance with Article 11 of the law, a public association is considered to be legal entity from the day its rules are registered, so consequently it is from that precise moment that it becomes party to legal relationships and obtains political and legal rights.

Thus it can only be a case of an attempt to create a public association which is at the "organizational period" stage." The provisions of the Law "On Public Associations" concerning stopping the activities of or abolishing a public association are inapplicable to it.

Taking this into consideration and in execution of Point II of Article 121-5 of the Russian Federation Constitution, the president has taken measures "to ensure state and public security in the Russian Federation" and has prevented the creation of this public association in accordance with Part 2, Article 7 of the Russian Federation Constitution.

Minister Berates Corrupt Deputies, Officials

PM0511121992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Oct 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Ella Pamfilova, minister for the social protection of the population, by IZVESTIYA special correspondent Valeriy Yakov; place and date not given: "The Apparatus' Revenge"]

[Text] When this conversation was originally planned we intended to talk about the problems the Social Protection Ministry deals with from day to day, about assistance for old people, invalids, and orphans at what is for them and indeed for many of us a difficult time. But, when talking about the poor, it was impossible not to consider the rich, and when reflecting on those who have no rights, we inevitably talked about those whose rights and privileges startle even the wildest imagination.

[Yakov] Ella Aleksandrovna, we get a multitude of letters at the editorial office (I imagine your ministry is inundated, too) complaining about officialdom's tyranny and extortion and outrages by a bureaucracy that no longer fears anyone or anything. How is one to comprehend all this? After all, practically all top jobs are now occupied by new people. And they were swept in amid the struggle for social justice, order, and the eradication of bureaucracy and corruption. Of course, one person does not have much clout, but more than one has been replaced. What is the reason, then? Is middle management the culprit again?

[Pamfilova] Objectively speaking, it is largely to blame, of course. It was impossible to replace it, just as it is impossible to replace the country's population. What was necessary was to create different conditions for their activities, different criteria and incentives. We did not do that, and as a result the most terrible thing happened—the power and influence of the apparatus became even wider. Particularly in the distribution sphere. We gave them this opportunity, we made a grave mistake by enabling them to distribute state property and use their official position as a supreme privilege.

I do not know what path privatization should take, but the bureaucracy's omnipotence in the distribution sphere is leading to overt cynicism and corruption, to outrageous despotism. Particularly in the capital, where every square meter is worth a fortune. But the main reason is that the same old nomenklatura, with its grim legacy, possesses the real power.

Unfortunately, not all the new-wave politicians lasted the course.

The terrible thing is that in Moscow the concept of "democracy" has been thoroughly distorted and many principles of market relations have been mangled. Cynicism, immorality, and a bureaucratic apparatus that has grown fat and debauched rule at various levels here. It is a terrible fact that all this is happening in the capital; it is all being perpetrated without shame and without the slightest pang of remorse. I have on my desk bundles of letters and the complaints are pouring in, people groaning about the tyranny that is rampant in the city. Particularly in matters of privatization, in the allocation of premises for social needs. I can cite a mass of examples where invalids, trying to secure even some kind of basement accommodations, where ordinary businessmen trying to establish themselves have been unable to secure anything because it is impossible to penetrate the corrupt, mafia-like structures which often have nothing to do with Moscow or even with Russia.

I have a file on my desk which contains documents on the ordeal of Yevgeniya Grik, who opened a gallery in the city's Central Prefecture. A remarkable creative person with unique abilities—she would teach deaf and dumb children artistic skills using her own unorthodox method. But commercial structures took a fancy to the building, so she was thrown out. I appealed direct to Yu.

Luzhkov and he promised me that the question would be resolved. In the end there was a court hearing, which confirmed Grik's rights, but as far as the prefecture was concerned neither the mayor's opinion nor the court's ruling carried any weight compared with the wishes of the so-called "merchants."

Take another example, this time from the Northern administrative district. You could write an entire epic about the way the collective of No. 5 workshop on Leningradskiy Prospekt, which repaired and made clothes, spent seven months fighting for the privatization of its enterprise, and what happened. If someone tomorrow were to pick up the documents and see what has been sold in Moscow and to whom, I assure you an amazing picture would unfold.

[Yakov] So the battle you fought so uncompromisingly in the Union parliament against privileges has come to nothing. You have been defeated; moreover the current privileges are assuming a scale and unassailability that is difficult to imagine.

[Pamfilova] You are probably right, although I do not agree that it was all in vain. I have had a splendid opportunity to compare the level of privileges and the standard of living of Union deputies and Russian deputies today. I want to stress that that there are many people among the Russian deputies who are perfectly decent and modest, people I respect deeply, people who have a sense of dignity, who make great demands on themselves. But there are many, particularly in the Supreme Soviet, who bear no comparison with the Union deputies in terms of their arrogance and fancy lifestyle.

But, at the same time, it is more often than not those who have fixed themselves up with numerous privileges who make appeals in parliament for social justice.

I have repeatedly raised this matter with members of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Social Policy, and after I addressed the sixth Congress I wrote a letter urging the establishment of a semblance of order. If we do not have that in the structures of legislative power and executive power, we will not have it in society at all. Can we say we have that when Russian deputies, for example, quietly obtain a car each, and some more than one. Moreover, they managed to do it before the prices went up. Meanwhile I am unable to get anything done for my invalids, although for them a car is not a luxury; it is the only way they can get around. At present prices everything is denied them—public transport, and private transport even more so. How is a lifelong invalid supposed to find hundreds of thousands of rubles? But the Russian deputies had the pick of the cars without having to wait in line and at the old prices, knowing full well that prices were about to rise. Moreover, some of them have continued to obtain cars this year, after the price increase. But I must emphasize that they are not obtaining them at market prices.

Or take the official apartments situation, how Union deputies were vigorously ejected from them—on Rublevka, for example. Why was this done? Because the Russian parliament is short of working and living quarters? No, it was simply a means whereby some Russian depouties could move to Moscow and others, living here already, could get better housing. Now they are trying to privatize these apartments.

An enormous amount of property was taken away from the Union parliament—dachas, recreation centers, subsidiary plots, official premises. And do you think at least some of this was handed over to the deprived, the underprivileged, and the sick? No, they are being leased through third parties, enormous sums are being made without any controls, and the money is going goodness knows where.

After last year's August events I very much respected the Russian Supreme Soviet, which had behaved so remarkably during those critical days. But after the sixth Congress it moved markedly to the right and got to the point where it was obviously trying to curb the reforms.

It got really bad when people accused the leader of parliament of mendacity and, to put it mildly, of immodesty, and the Congress quietly ignored this—what, then, are the moral standards of this assembly, which is supposed to represent the face of society?

I can see why the Congress turned a blind eye at the time and why many deputies now pretend not to notice anything. The point is that Khasbulatov is the one who guarantees that life is fine and dandy for the body of deputies.

Many people are exploiting their official positions these days; this is typical not only of the body of deputies. The same thing is happening in the executive power structures. The most cynical type of privilege has been established—exploiting an official position to get a bigger slice of the cake during privatization.

You ask why I broached the subject now. Because I cannot remain silent any longer; it had to be said, don't you see? Why does the Supreme Soviet exist? To adopt legislative acts which the executive authorites have to follow. Its job is to monitor us, to check on us, to create the legal basis for the promotion of the reforms, and not hamper them. What you have now instead is parliament's determination to take over the functions of executive authority.

[Yakov] Ella Aleksandrovna, you are making rather strong accusations, but the impression is that your strong opinions are due to the latest attack on the government at the very start of the session. So if this attack had not occurred you might have remained silent?

[Pamfilova] We are not talking about me here. I have spoken, written letters, and made statements before. But now that we are receiving daily from all over Russia hundreds of letters fron desperate people who are experiencing profound disenchantment and are losing faith in the reforms and in democracy, their standard of living is declining disastrously, and the transformations are proceeding too slowly because the reactionary section of parliament is deliberately delaying the adoption of legislative acts ensuring the development of the reforms—in these conditions one simply cannot remain silent.

Look what is happening to finances. Together with the president's edict on creating a Republic Social Support Fund there appears the reserve Supreme Soviet Social Support Fund. A totally unconstitutional decision. Point four in the Presidium decree says that the Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman is in charge of the money. So Ruslan Imranovich has in his hands the functions of executive authority. There are now 8 billion rubles [R] in a fund that originally totaled R1.5 billion. This is money we are in dire need of to plug the holes of the social programs. Funding of health and other social spheres is at most only 50 percent of the required minimum, and we are scrabbling around for kopeks for our boarding schools, hospitals, and homes for old people. The Republic Fund was set up so that we have other sources of money—money coming into the fund from commercial and philanthropic activities—to rely on as well as the budget.

Then along comes Khasbulatov's fund, which is none other than an additional financial instrument of power making it possible to conduct a stick and carrot policy, give the obedient a share and punish the disobedient. Instead of coordination of social protection actions we have duplication. We are trying to tackle some problem, looking for resources, while there sits the good speaker doling out millions to territories. And this is done without any checks and without analyzing needs. Some 8 billion are being transferred from the budget and they are starting to do with it what they think fit. But we are not just talking about the budget, we are now talking about political power.

[Yakov] Given the present value of the ruble, this is probably not such big money in state terms?

[Pamfilova] But I will tell you some things that are even more serious—things that are leading to the disintegration of the social service. There is the creation of the Pension Fund. No other country in the world has a monster like it. Sure there are independent pension funds whose boards are elected by the shareholders.

The fund was conceived as an independent banking system accumulating money so that there would always be money to pay pensions no matter what budget disasters might occur. A fine idea, but what became of it? There was no control over the vast sums of money. How can you have financial stabilization when amounts of money comparable to nearly one-third of the federal budget lie outside the reform process, outside the executive authority structures? At no level does anyone know for sure how much money is there.

[Yakov] But someone must be in charge of it, after all we are talking about trillions?

[Pamfilova] Who is in charge of it? It is the Supreme Soviet again, in the shape of its chairman. Although it is done through the Social Policy Committee. When I addressed the commission I said that the fund must have dual accountability, it cannot be outside the executive organs, and it is the commission's job to establish and monitor the normative framework, contribution rate, and type of expenditure. What was in fact created was an uncontrollable monster.

Of course, what we do need today is a strong federal pension service, but it must be combined with us, not duplicating our functions, and not directly linked, as it is at the moment, to the Supreme Soviet, subject to the will of the speaker, again.

But first a commission of qualified experts should be set up to thoroughly check out and analyze the fund's activities. I have serious grounds for believing that large amounts of money from the fund are being spent on the wrong things. Money intended for pensioners is being used to substantially top up the pay of fund workers, to swell the central apparatus, to pay for the expensive reconstruction of the recently revamped building which houses this apparatus, to purchase cars at commercial prices, and so on.

And they have no fears whatsoever. Ivakin, one of the leaders of the Pension Fund board, publicly stated, in the presence of staffers: "What have we to fear, we have everything sewn up, Khasbulatov is in our pocket." You see the kind of statements they are making? They make you think.

I would also like the commission to calculate how many people from the fund apparatus and how many deputies from the Supreme Soviet are making foreign trips at the expense of the Pension Fund. And establish the purpose of the trips and the people involved. I assure you, it would reveal a very interesting picture, and interesting amounts of money as well.

What about giving one another financial assistance? First the fund board chairman writes asking for financial assistance to buy furniture, and then the deputy chief of the economic administration asks for financial assistance to buy a leather coat... And all this from the Pension Fund, while we are scratching around for kopeks for the destitute, for flophouses and free meals. It can only be described as utter cynicism.

But it is all accompanied by noble speeches about never entrusting this money to the government, otherwise it will squander it all plugging the gaps and the pensioners will get nothing.

At the same time, there are data showing that this money is being actively introduced into circulatiion. By whom?

In whose interests? There is food for thought here. But yet another substantial element of political power is in evidence.

In the beginning the speaker used to give Matyukhin orders; now credit matters, involving doling out millions, are dealt with directly or via funds or organizing committees... How long have I spent trying unsuccessfully to get hold of $5 million for the reconstruction of an artificial limb and orthopedic factory producing footwear for our invalids, who are in torment, who are suffering, because for them it is an absolute necessity. For us money is the number one problem, it is impossible to get hold of it because it is all frozen, whereas there they have as much as they please.

The impression I have is that the social sphere is being deliberately broken up as a means of bringing down the government amd gaining populist authority. Again this is not a question of morality or deputies' ethics, but a question of a political struggle. But when the purpose of the struggle is to destroy, I cannot understand that, neither can I accept it.

More than once I have asked the deputies to back me up, to suggest how best to tackle social questions, and not to keep messing up our work with their Pension Fund. Blank faces. If all this were connected with the matter in hand, with concern for people, it would explain a great deal. But when it is all a matter of political ambition and selfish, personal interest, I cannot remain silent and I do not intend to give in. Although I am very well aware that after interviews like this it is difficult not to succumb, because a minister's position is always vulnerable—plenty of nitpicking goes on. But I will insist that for the good of the cause they stop encroaching on executive functions and allow the government to work. Under any kind of supervision, but work nonetheless. Sensible forces in parliament, albeit, unfortunately, in a minority, appreciate this. But the majority, headed by Khasbulatov, is causing mischief at the moment. And this majority is not only discrediting the work of parliament, but is also, I repeat, a very dangerous obstacle to the reforms.

Indeed, you will appreciate that it is not me personally, it is not the members of the cabinet who are suffering as a result of all that is going on; it is not a question of our problems, and, believe me, there are plenty of them. The trouble is that millions of ordinary people are suffering, people who are tired of politics, hardship, and uncertainty. The other day I even said to Gaydar that I had probably become more radical than he, having seen all this poverty and heard all the bitter stories. You cannot keep on slowly tightening the knot—the reforms have to be conducted as resolutely as possible. It is necessary to go for broke, because Russia's future is at stake. Gorbachev's policy of compromises brought the country to a state of collapse, and this must not be repeated—reasonable compromise has its limits, too. When it is a question of the country's survival I do not know what kind of compromise you can find with the reactionary section of the Supreme Soviet and its speaker, who, I am sure, have interests other than Russia's survival.

Indeed, everyone is having a hard time at the moment, but endless concessions and reform delays make past sacrifices meaningless and new ones inevitable.

Yeltsin Replaces Interethnic Adviser; Names New Vice Premier

Decree Releases Starovoytova

LD0411223592 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2050 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We learned today that Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree releasing Galina Starovoytova from her office as adviser on inter-ethnic relations. I remind you that the conservative majority in the Russian parliament has been demanding her resignation over the past half-year.

Dismissal 'Total Surprise' to Starovoytova

OW0511110992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1038 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Galina Starovoytova who was dismissed from the post of a presidential advisor on ethnic relations by a decree of Boris Yeltsin on Wednesday [4 November] has told IF [INTERFAX] that the decree was a total surprise for her. She said it was brought to her on Wednesday night when she was completing a report to the president with her analysis and proposals concerning the developments in Northern Caucasus.

Mrs. Starovoytova also said that for several weeks she has been on the waiting list to the president to discuss pressing complicated matters in ethnic relations in the country.

She said she did not apply for resignation.

Shakhray Named Deputy Prime Minister

LD0511093792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0920 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—Sergey Shakhray, former presidential aid on legal issues, was appointed by Boris Yeltsin deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Committee on National Policy, TASS learned from the press service of the president on Thursday [5 November].

He will begin to fulfil his duties on November 25.

Shakhray at present is defending the decree of the president banning the former Soviet and Russian Communist Parties in the Constitutional Court.

Shakhray was born in 1956 and graduated from the Faculty of Law of the Moscow State University. He has the scientific degree of master of law. He is married with two children.

The press centre also said that Galina Starovoytova, presidential adviser on interethnic relations, was relieved from her duties.

Yeltsin, Shakhray Hold 'Lengthy Meeting'

OW0511111092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1038 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin has appointed Sergey Shakhray the chairman of the State Committee for the Nationalities' Policy and vice-premier. This was disclosed by the presidential press service.

On Wednesday [4 November] night Sergey Shakhray had a lengthy meeting with the president.

Clashes Between N. Ossestians, Ingush Continue

N. Ossetian Leader on Yeltsin Meeting

LD0411172492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1320 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Our correspondent Olga Vasilenko has just arrived in the studio. She was present at a news conference today that Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet, gave after his meeting with Boris Yeltsin. Olga Timofeyevna, if you please.

[Vasilenko] Yes. I will tell you right away that Akhsarbek Galazov describes the current situation as an action planned long and well. Those responsible are the Ingush leaders who have been convincing their people for years that it is only possible to create an Ingush republic on part of North Ossetia's Prigorodnyy rayon. This is an encroachment on the territory of a sovereign republic. Well, this encroachment occurred on the night of 30-31 October, as you know. Bands of Ingush national extremists invaded North Ossetia's territory. That is what Galazov said.

Journalists were very interested in the attitude of the closest neighbors, for example, Shevardnadze, the Confederation of Mountain Peoples, and so on. Galazov said that Shevardnadze considers that the situayion might lead to a large-scale war. This aggression may perhaps even be strongly condemned in Russia. As far as the Confederation of Mountain Peoples is concerned, one of its representatives, a member of its leadership, is calling on the sides to make peace and is even prepared to play the role of mediator.

With regard to Chechniya it might be said—this is what Galazov said—a petition is being drawn up in Groznyy for aid, a petition is being drawn up for aid to the Ingush people and even, according to unconfirmed reports, I am quoting Akhsarbek Galazov here, there are people who are already fighting, battling on Ingushetiya's side.

Galazov was asked for his view on the introduction of Russian Federation interior troops. We in North Ossetia are counting on being able to attain peace with the help of the Russian troops, Galazov answered journalists. With regard to the introduction of the state of emergency, he said that it is being alleged that the state of emergency was introduced against the will of the North Ossetian people. This was not actually so. In fact, we sent a telegram to Yeltsin and the state of emergency was introduced at our request. We are just not in complete agreement with all of the wording of the president's decree. And this morning's meeting between Galazov and Yeltsin permitted a number of amendments to this decree to be made and the temporary ruling body headed by Khizha will not now have all of the power in North Ossetia; the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet will have this power. [passage omitted on sources of conflict and fate of a journalist]

Blames Extremists for Bloodshed

LD0411204792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1513 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—North Ossetian parliamentary speaker, Akhsarbek Galazov, addressed a news conference in Moscow on Wednesday [4 November] to describe the situation in North Ossetia.

"It is not a conflict situation, but a well-planned aggression prepared long ago," he said.

In the morning, Galazov met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Galazov blamed national extremists for the bloodshed suffered by the Ingush and Ossetians saying extremists believe it is possible to create their own state on the territory of another country. Galazov believes that reason should prevail in these difficult circumstances, while the territory of North Ossetia should be cleared of unwanted guests.

Rules Out Revising Borders

LD0411193292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1635 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov—Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia, has ruled out the possibility of revising the borders of the republic, which forms part of Russia. Galazov stated this today at a news conference in Moscow.

Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent about ways of surmounting the crisis, Galazov stressed that, above all, "it is necessary to clear the territory of North Ossetia of people who have no connection with it and have brought grief to the population."

According to the Ossetian leader, Boris Yeltsin had adopted most of the proposals expressed by Galazov at a meeting earlier today.

Speaking of the Russian president's decree introducing a state of emergency in Ingushetiya and North Ossetia, Galazov emphasized that a request adopting such a measure had been contained in a telegram sent by him and by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of North Ossetia to Boris Yeltsin.

Yeltsin Amends Emergency Decree

OW0411190892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1707 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On November 4 the Russian president made an amendment to the decree on the introduction of a state of emergency on the territory of North Ossetia. The new version of the decree's third point now states that "the organs of acting power in North Ossetia are subordinate to the temporary administration, and the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia exercises legislative power." Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia Akhsarbek Galazov reported this to journalists Wednesday [4 November] after a meeting with the Russian president. He said that the North Ossetian parliament unanimously voted for the introduction of a state of emergency on the republic's territory, but protested the fact that in the decree, according to Galazov, "Ossetians and Ingush nationals were placed on the same par." Yeltsin's amendment, the speaker believes, restored justice.

The chairman of the North Ossetian parliament announced that during the meeting Yeltsin "accepted North Ossetia's position" insisting that Ingush armed formations be removed from its territory. The Russian president stressed that territorial issues should be resolved at the negotiating table.

Galazov said the events in North Ossetia are the result of "long-planned aggression, for which Ingush nationalist-separatists are responsible, having instilled in peoples' minds the notion of forming their state on the territory of another."

According to the speaker, "people from Moscow making rash decisions" helped to ignite the conflict. Galazov called the law on rehabilitating repressed peoples humanitarian, but noted that its sixth article on territorial rehabilitation is "perfect nonsense." The historical affiliation of these territories, Galazov believes, is "entirely a disputed issue."

He denied claims that the state of emergency was introduced against the wishes of the Ossetian leadership, saying, "It was introduced on our initiative after we sent a telegram with the request to do so to the Russian president," said Galazov.

Yeltsin Adviser Comments on Conflict

OW0411222092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Interview with presidential adviser Galina Starovoitova by Yevgeniy Terekhov; place and date not given; report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Members of various political organizations have been commenting on Yeltsin's address to the people of Russia in connection with his declaration of a state of emergency in North Ossetia and Ingushetiya. Our correspondent Yevgeniy Terekhov has interviewed Galina Starovoitova, the president's adviser on ethnic affairs.

Galina Starovoitova: The situation in North Ossetia and Ingushetiya can be described as a large-scale and serious conflict but it is nevertheless not the beginning of a civil war. The federal authorities bear part of the responsibility for the fact that what began as a political conflict developed into a military one. Some time ago, the Russian Supreme Soviet decided to form an Ingush republic but the government stopped half-way in carrying out the decision. The borders of the republic were not demarcated, nor was it decided what should be its capital. The government, mainly the State Committee for Ethnic Policy, was extremely slack about creating statehood in Ingushetiya.

Corr.: So these are the problems that should first of all be solved to settle the conflict?

G.S.: No, it's too late to deal with the roots of the conflict now. First of all, the bloodshed should be stopped. This can be done by urgently beginning negotiations and disarming the unofficial armed detachments. One very important point here is that the Russian Government should take a neutral stand towards both parties. We ought to remember that both the Ossetians and Ingushes live in Russia. Today, however, there's quite a lot of bias both on the part of the media and on the part of the armed forces sent to the region by the central government. On the central radio, for example, we constantly hear about Ingush commandos and Ingush gangs, although there are unofficial armed detachments on both sides.

And, as far as I know, Deputy Premier Georgiy Khizha has contacts mainly with the Ossetians and talks to Ingush leaders mainly on the phone. One has the impression he doesn't have enough information on what the armed forces are doing either. Thus, he has reported to Moscow that they have been very active, whereas, in actual fact, both the infantry and the airborne troops have been staying in their positions over the last few days and don't quite know what to do.

Corr.: Does the Chechen leadership have anything to do with the conflict?

G.S.: Of course, Chechniya can't ignore what's going on next door, especially since the president has declared a state of emergency both in North Ossetia and in Ingushetiya. Paradoxically, the border between Ingushetiya and Chechniya hasn't yet been demarcated, which means the events in the region may have a direct effect on the Chechen population as well. The Chechen parliament has the other day appealed for neutrality. This is a very reassuring fact.

Chechen Delegation Rebuffed

LD0511000292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2320 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznyy, 5 November—The delegation from Chechniya that was sent on a peace mission to North Ossetia on 4 November has returned to Groznyy empty-handed, the ITAR-TASS correspondent was told tonight by Movladi Udugov, chairman of the State Committee for Information and the Press of the Chechen Republic. He said that Sergey Khetagurov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of North Ossetia, "had not allowed the members of the delegation even to enter Vladikavkaz."

After the delegation had returned to Groznyy, the Foreign Ministry of the Chechen Republic issued a statement which notes, in particular, that these actions by the Ossetian side demonstrate the Ossetians' unwillingness "to halt the bloody military actions and to settle the conflict by means of negotiations." At this difficult time, the statement says, we appeal to the Ingush and Ossetians to halt the fratricidal war, and call on the other peoples of the Caucasus to use their influence to reconcile the sides and prevent any further escalation of military action.

Groznyy Warns Against Spreading Emergency

OW0511113992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1038 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chechen parliament has declared that if Moscow tries to spread the state of emergency to Sunzhen and Malogbeck regions which are inseparable parts of the Chechen republic, in keeping with international law this will be viewed as an armed aggression against the independent Chechen state. The entire responsibility for the consequences of such a step will rest on the Russian leadership, the statement approved on Thursday [5 November] says.

The leadership of the ruling Chechen National Congress, several other organizations operating in the republic and the Confederation of the Peoples of the Caucasus have called for an immediate end to the suicidal war between the Ingushes and North Ossetians, for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Prigorodny region and Ingushes from North Ossetia in general. The statement issued on Thursday in Groznyy suggests immediate negotiations between the Ingush and Ossetian sides. The document supports the sending of a peace- keeping force of the confederation to the conflict zone. If Russian troops are not pulled out, the statement suggests recalling North Caucasian deputies from the Russian parliament.

Reports of 'Bomb Attack' Denied

LD0411155892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Georgiy Khizha, deputy prime minister of the Russian Government and head of the provisional administration of North Ossetia and Ingushetiya, said today that reports of a bomb attack on Nazran were false. Sergey Shoygu, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet committee on emergency situations, said that this information was a blatant lie, which the Ingush extremists want to use in order to elicit pity from the public and present themselves as victims.

INTERFAX Updates Situation

OW0411201492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1925 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] All day and evening on Wednesday [4 November], intense firefights continued between Ingush and Ossetian armed formations in the region of the Chermen settlement, part of the zone of armed activity in the Prigorod region of North Ossetia. According to data from the press center of the North Ossetia Security Council, both sides are taking heavy losses in the region around the population centers of Kartsa, Chermen, and Kurtat.

Ossetian sources say that Ingush forces shot 23 hostages in the Kartsa settlement on Wednesday.

Members of the Emergency Committee of Ingushetiya deny any involvement by Ingush nationals in pillaging or hostage-killing.

The Ingush Self-Defense Staff says that in the early hours of 4 November, the Ingush village of Kurtat in the Prigorod region of North Ossetia was totally destroyed. Most of the destruction in the villages of Chermen, Dachnoe, and Chornorechen was caused by artillery fire. The same source also reports the artillery bombardment of Nazran, the capital of Ingushetiya. Several shells hit the area around the central regional hospital, which houses about 1,000 wounded people. The deceased are also among them.

Meanwhile, since the beginning of the conflict on 23 October, some 350 wounded people have been checked into the hospital. Surgeon-consultant Akhmet Kushtov said in an interview with INTERFAX that another 100 heavily wounded people were sent to Groznyy, the capital of Chechniya, and 50 people in the hospital with wounds varying in severity have died.

According to information from the North Ossetian Ministry of Health, during the conflict in the Prigorod region, the Ossetians have so far lost 97 people and had 273 wounded. For its part, the Center for Social Ties of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs has estimated Ossetian losses at 52 dead and 164 wounded.

On Wednesday, at a meeting in Nazran between Russian Deputy Sergey Baburin and Ingush leaders, Ibrahim Kostoyev, a member of the Emergency Committee of Ingushetiya, called the conflict "a spontaneous uprising of the Ingush people caused by a series of murders in the southern settlements." In an interview with INTERFAX, Kostoyev said that "Ingush people are fighting for the implementation of the Russian law 'On the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples,' which stipulates the transfer of historical homelands to rehabilitated peoples."

The Ingush leadership expresses its belief that the conflict in North Ossetia is "a carefully-planned action by the Russian leadership to eliminate the Ingush people." This statement was made on Wednesday in Nazran to Russian Supreme Council Deputy Sergey Baburin.

The Ossetians are waiting for more decisive action by Russian forces. First Deputy Minister of the North Ossetian Parliament Yuriy Biragov said during an interview with INTERFAX that if nothing further is done, the populations of the Vladikavkaz and Prigorod regions will arm themselves. Several attempts by the population to seize military storehouses have so far been foiled.

Taras Shamba, president of the International Abkhazian Congress, who is in North Ossetia, believes that any involvement of Russian forces in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict "will only serve to aggravate the situation." In an interview with INTERFAX, Shamba remarked that the events in North Ossetia "are turning the people of the Caucasus against Russia, since the Russian leadership is taking an obviously pro-Ossetian position with respect to the conflict."

The government of Chechniya has given Ingushetiya 50 million rubles for the purchase of food and medicine.

Agreement Reached on Cease-Fire

LD0411215992 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2050 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The RIA reports that Vice Premier Georgiy Khizha and representatives of Ingushetiya reached agreement this evening on the withdrawal of all Ingush armed formations from the territory of North Ossetia, an exchange of hostages, and a cease-fire. The agreement is due to come into force at 2000 on 4 November.

It is highly probable that this accord, too, will not be observed if you take into account the fact that the opposing sides are continuing hostilities even at this hour. According to unconfirmed reports, during the course of an offensive which lasted several hours, the village of Chermen was liberated from the Ingush fighters, where according to INTERFAX over 200 Ossetian hostages were shot. Incidentally, some other reports say that Ingush refugees, in particular in the village of Kartsa in Prigorodnyy rayon, have also been shot. The Russian Interior Ministry has sent 200 workers to Vladikavkaz to help maintain public order in North Ossetia. [Video shows fighters and tanks on streets; elderly people looking shocked]

Russian Troops To Seize Arms

LD0511071692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0649 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 5 TASS—Russian crack troops are entering several villages in the zone of Ingush-Ossetian conflict early on Thursday [5 November] to ensure the state of emergency there, according to an order of Georgiy Khizha, head of the temporary administration in North Ossetia and Ingushetiya.

The decision was adopted after a ceasefire agreement was reached between Khizha and Isa Kastoyev, representative of the Russian president in Ingushetiya. The ceasefire was to be introduced at 20.00 hours on November 4, however fighting continued overnight in the zone of conflict.

The troops are to enter villages of Oktyabrskoe, Karsa, Dachnoe, Kurstat, Chermen, Maisky, Yuzhny at 8.00 hours local time. They are to disarm illegal armed units and ensure the exchange of PoWs, hostages and wounded on "all for all" terms.

Groups of observers are to be created on Thursday to monitor the situation in the villages.

Cease-Fire Observed; 'Hostages' Exchanged

LD0511102192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1000 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valery Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 5 TASS—"The terms of talks between representatives of the provisional administration and the Russian task force, on the one hand, and the Ingush side, on the other, intended to declare a ceasefire on the territory of North Ossetia as of 8 p.m. on November 4th, are being, on the whole, observed," ITAR-TASS was told today by Secretary of the North

Ossetian Security Council Major-General Aleksandr Khodov. "However, several shots were fired by Ingush militants last night in villages of the Prigorodny area," he added.

Units of the Russian Defence Ministry, interior troops, special-purpose squads and North Ossetian republican guards have assumed control over all the populated localities in the zone of hostilities. Mopping up operations against bandit gangs are now being carried out in the Prigorodny area of Vladikavkaz.

In accordance with a previously reached agreement, the Ossetian side has started to exchange hostages. Forty-one women, children and old people have already returned home. Chairman of the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet Akhsarbek Galazov returned to Vladikavkaz from Moscow late in the evening of November 4 after talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Galazov positively assesses the Moscow dialogue, which focused on the settlement of the situation in the Prigorodny area of North Ossetia.

Two Ingush Settlements Occupied

OW0511152792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1432 GMT 05 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The situation in the conflict zone between the Ingush nationals and North Ossetians in the Prigorodny region of North Ossetia has remained tense during the last twenty-four hours, according to the Russian Interior Ministry's public relations centre.

The centre has revealed that sub-divisions of troops together with the police and Ossetian volunteer brigades occupied on November 4th the settlements of Kurtat and Dachnoye. The settlements of Maiskoye, Tarskoye and the north western region of Chermen remain under Ingush control.

Information has been receive that 97 Ossetians have been killed during the conflict, and a further 253 injured, including 9 policemen. The Ingush nationals have, according to information received from Nazran, capital of Ingushetiya, lost 49 people with 252 injured.

The Interior Ministry centre has reported that 27 Ossetian prisoners were on Wednesday exchanged for 25 Ingush nationals. Another exchange is due to take place on November 5th.

The Russian Defence Ministry press bureau has announced that yesterday evening an unidentified armed detachment launched an attack on an oil storage base which was being guarded by Russian servicemen on the outskirts of Vladikavkaz. Captain V. Chabanov was injured in the shooting that took place during the attack. On the same evening a sentry post at a cantonment came under fire by unknown persons. The rank and file soldier S. Ivlyev was wounded.

Militia Commandants Named

PM0511124592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Pelts and Aleksey Petrov: "From the State of Emergency Area"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A curfew was introduced on 3 November in Vladikavkaz and Prigorodnyy Rayon between 2200 and 0500. Militia Colonel S. Sikoyev, North Ossetian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] deputy minister of internal affairs, has been appointed commandant of Vladikavkaz, and M. Zagiyev, North Ossetian SSR deputy foreign minister, has been appointed commandant of Prigorodnyy Rayon.

Three curfew sectors [kommendantskiye uchastki] have been set up in Vladikavkaz (in Leninskiye, Sovetskiye, and Promyshlennyye Rayons), and five curfew sectors have been set up in Prigorodnyy Rayon. [passage omitted]

Imam Warns Conflict 'May Envelop All Russia'

MK0411112992 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 1

[Yevgeniy Krutikov report on interview with Imam Nazrani Akhmed-Khadzhi Poshev under the rubric "KURANTY Exclusive"; place and date not given: "Imam Nazrani: An Ingush Viewpoint"]

[Text] [Poshev] The Ingush are a very patient people. We were patient when we were evicted to Turkey by means of deception, when Vladikavkaz was taken from us, when we were deprived of our autonomous formation, and when we were in exile and, on our return, saw how the Ossetians had made a mockery of our dead and destroyed our cemeteries.

Today we are demanding only that our republic's territorial integrity be restored. Article 6 of the Law on the Rehabilitation of Repressed Peoples speaks of the need to restore the territorial integrity of peoples before the moment of their eviction. For the Ingush that moment was 23 February 1944. What the law grants us today must be taken without arguments, without bloodshed. What happens then is a question of the will of the Ingush people. When we were deprived of our autonomous formation, our capital was Vladikavkaz. You cannot have an autonomous formation without a capital, and the Russian parliament must decide the fate of the city. We are afraid of losing control over people. We are now trying to curb the young people. When I spoke and said disperse, for the sake of Allah, I was told: "Go home and rest. How much longer are you going to keep on deceiving us?" You can understand the young people: They are now beginning to doubt our sincerity when we say (on the basis of the Russian leadership's promise) that the question will be decided in a week, then a month or six months go by and everything remains as before.

Some political parties, such as "Niyskho" and its leader, Issa Kodzoyev, are now trying to speak on behalf of the entire Ingush people; he advocates immediately declaring an autonomous formation with its capital in Vladikavkaz. But that cannot be done at the moment, it would cause even greater conflict with the Ossetians.

The Chechens, the Cossacks, and many others will gradually be dragged into the conflict between the Ingush and the Ossetians. The conflict may envelop all Russia. [Poshev ends]

That is the view of Imam Nazrani Akhmed-Khadzhi Poshev.

Economic & Trade Union Issues

Ministers Fail To Show Up For Trade Union Talks

LD0411175492 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] The planned meeting of the Conciliatory Commission of the Russian Government and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions has failed to take place. Most of the government ministers invited to attend failed to show up at the session expected to discuss trade union demands for adjusting government reforms.

The federation's president, Igor Klochkov, has warned a strike will be called if the government continues to avoid negotiations with trade unions on measures to establish a social safety net for the population.

FITUR's Klochkov 'Irritated'

MK0411142992 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 2

[Anna Ostapchuk report under the "Trade Unions" rubric: "Government Has Offended FITUR, and FITUR Has Threatened Strike Action"]

[Text] The latest session of the conciliation commission of the Russian Federation Government and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITUR], which was due to examine the trade unions' demands, did not take place owing to the fault of the government side. Only two of the seven officials authorized to hold talks showed up.

By prior agreement, the materials produced by the government were to have been handed over to the trade union side for examination on Saturday, 31 October. However, FITUR only saw these documents on 2 November. Deputy Labor Minister Pavel Kudyukin, who nevertheless visited his "social partners" on that day, admitted his colleagues' mistake: "It is FITUR's right to refuse to examine the problem at the drop of a hat." He explained the situation that had developed by saying that the government was "rushed off its feet" just before the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies. Right now the whole government is absorbed in establishing an anticrisis economic program. FITUR Chairman Igor Klochkov was somewhat irritated by this attitude to himself and his Federation and he promised that if in the future the government neglects its commitments to working people, FITUR will certainly appeal for an extreme measure of collective protest—a strike (no later than November).

The next meeting is scheduled for 6 November. It is possible to say with considerable certainty that it will be more successful and will at least take place. Because this time the venue for the meeting will be the Ministry of Labor. And if the government in its role as "mountain" will not come to the trade unions, then FITUR, as Muhammad, will most likely set off for the government residence. However, there has been a fairly fortunate selection of issues to "get the ball rolling": on the one hand, the social consequences of conversion in defense spheres, relieving the lot of which is something the government has been working on for some time even without pressure from the trade unions, and on the other, increasing the minimum wage, an area where it is very possible that compromise will be reached.

With regard to the general outcome of the talks, they are most likely to go on for a month at least. So "explosive" November will pass by more or less quietly. But the blackmail threat of strike action after 23 November if the talks do not achieve their goal is not causing much alarm in the government because, according to Kudyukin, "FITUR is incapable of spurring the masses to strike action on its own, it can only 'paralyze' by mounting spontaneous disturbances and 'directorial strikes.'"

Shumeyko on Government, Economic Development

OW0511075192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0632 GMT 5 Nov 92

["Roundtable discussion" between Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister, and a group of unattributed correspondents; place and date not given; from the "Problems & Opinions" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX: Do you think the Law on State Service will be adopted soon?

SHUMEYKO: I think it will. For all I know, the draft of this Law has already been addressed by the Supreme Council, so the need for its adoption presents no doubts. I would have to say that it is a very serious issue. You will recall, the anti-monopoly law prohibits the state servants to work in any commercial organizations. Since that time, however, no one can give a clear definition to the state servants—either the Ministry of Justice or any other legal counsels.

In my opinion, we need this law today in order that state service could become an attractive endeavor. We also deem it necessary to establish certain privileges for the state servants so their paychecks would be comparable with those makes money by material labor.

Q: What is your attitude toward the issue of the Russian new Constitution?

A: I am viewing the new Constitution as an instrument for imparting appropriate ideology of development to Russian society. The Constitution is meant to identify the political system Russia will adopt—a presidential republic or parliamentary republic. It will also define Russia's economy, the attitude toward property and ownership, the role of the state in protecting property, and many other aspects. In other words, this will be a program for building new society.

The new Constitution is also expected to define the new power system. This system today is patched all over, therefore in trying to bring a new law in compliance with the existing legislative basis we have to resort to numerous compromises which, on final account, often make the new law ultimately senseless.

Q: What kind of innovations into the power system do you expect from the federal executive bodies?

A: The primary objective of these innovations is not merely to reduce the number of central agencies of the state power but also to change their structure. We will have to give up branch control in favor of a functional control system. I will illustrate this using the example of the MINPROM—Industrial Ministry which has been dissolved. The MINPROM had six departments which were in command of their branches vertically. We are replacing it by setting up a state committee for industrial policy within the structure of the supreme bodies of the state power. This committee will be determining the country's industrial policy in principle. In the meantime, branch control, per se, will be effected at lower control echelons and at different levels through the mediation of a major finance-and-industrial group, financial companies, amalgamations, enterprises, and trans-national companies.

Such a control principle has been necessitated, first and foremost, by our objective to effect a transition to the market oriented economy which will combine state-, stock- and private forms of ownership.

Q: How do you asses the prospects of the incumbent government? Is it liable to changes?

A: The changes, if any, will be insignificant.

Q: To what do you attribute the fact that the quotation of the privatization vouchers is two times below their nominal value? What piece of advice would you give your compatriots because of that?

A: They should not hurry to sell them. They sell at half price today, while in the country a voucher can be bought for a bottle of alcohol. Don't hurry to sell them because 10,000 rubles is not what they really cost. It is just a monetary expression of a share of 35% of the stocks. At present, only 42% of the enterprises have supplied their stocks to the market, the others undergoing the process of turning into joint-stock companies. This goes to show that the price for vouchers will gradually go up.

The vouchers can be used for purchasing land and apartments, while the government has other considerations in this regard. Therefore, I would reiterate that the people should not hurry to get rid of their vouchers. They have a whole year to spend them.

Q: What, in your opinion, are the proverbial "three elephants" for the Russian Government to bank on?

A: In going ahead with its reforms, the government ought to rely on the following three fulcrums which are clearly discernible in our society.

First, it is heads of enterprises in all the fields of the national economy, be it state-owned, joint-stock, or leased companies, etc.

The second fulcrum is constituted by various administration heads on all levels, from heads of territorial administrations down to the district level.

The third fulcrum is the Army command and heads of various power structures. As soon as they start operating normally, the reforms will be successfully realized.

If we want to find out which of the three fulcrums provides real support to the incumbent government, we will see that half of them support the government, the other half is still undecided.

Q: What incentive do you have to stay with the government whose policy has no future?

A: My clear understanding that Russia's future is in radical reforms. I am a pragmatic at heart, and I never behave as a romantic.

Q: Could you outline the highlights of the concept of the Russian Government's industrial policy?

A: This concept accentuates the priorities and envisages economic regulators and mechanisms. The primary mechanism would the country's flexible tax policy which takes into account all the priorities. The second mechanism lies in budget crediting of prospective branches of industry. The third—and most critical mechanism—is in determining a flexible upper level of profit for monopolists.

Q: Where, in your opinion, lies the essence of controversy between the chairman of the Russian Supreme Council and the Government Collegium?

A: You will recall that the resolutions of the 6th Congress of People's Deputies provide for prohibiting the executive powers to interfere in the prerogatives of the legislative powers, and vice versa: the legislative power could no longer interfere in the activities of the executive powers. The whole tragedy of the Supreme Council and its chairman lie in their failure to realize that the division of powers has already taken place.

The role of parliament today is enormous, its significance unquestionable. Its primary objective consists in developing a legislative basis, while supervision over its operation by the Supreme Council should only be confined to making sure that the executive bodies observe the letter of the law. The ways and methods of operations, however, should be determined by the executive bodies themselves.

Q: Which variants of a monetary reform in Russia do regard as most advantageous?

A: None. There cannot be any monetary reform today. A monetary reform under the conditions of the unstable ruble zone on the way toward market-oriented economy will produce no effect whatsoever. I place much greater reliance on bilateral relations with each of the CIS countries with respect to our monetary policy.

We have to pursue very rigid policy in this regard in 1993: fuel supplies to the CIS countries ought to be cut by at least 60% next year. The problem lies in the fact that the CIS countries, and even the former Eastern Bloc countries, are involved in re-exporting our raw materials, fuel, etc. Hungary alone has made a billion US dollars in 1992 re-exporting our oil, fertilizers, metals. No monetary reform can help us in this situation.

First of all, we ought to organize our trade procedures. We have already signed bilateral trade agreements for 1993 with seven republics. The agreements with other republics are being worked on. We will maintain normal businesslike relations with the republics that sign such accords with us, therefore stay in the ruble zone. The countries that will choose to abstain from signing such agreements with us will have to pay for our export in hard currency in accordance with international prices. This will, enable us to stabilize our economy and begin addressing options for a monetary reform.

Q: What is your opinion as regards changes to the law on the Russian Central Bank?

A: Are you asking about the changes proposed by our new bankers? I have had a meeting with them. They reason that the government should not pursue the policy of allowing international banks to establish themselves on the Russian soil since our own banks are still weak and are not capable of competing with them.

By and large, I am not in favor of letting foreign banks open their affiliations here. But I wouldn't mind if they set up an entirely new bank. It will relate close to the Russian interests and will be capable of addressing the problems of our trade turnover and circulation of cash.

We find it highly desirable today to attract investments into our economy from abroad while our banks, unfortunately, are not trusted either by foreigners or by the Russians. Therefore, it would be senseless to discuss any foreign investments through our banking system now. Yet, I wouldn't hurry with providing the most favored status for foreigners in terms of opening their bank branches. Moreover, I believe it shouldn't be done.

Q: What is your opinion about the project of structural changes of the Russian economy?

A: This change is indispensable. At present, almost all of our able-bodied population is involved in the sphere of production, while we also need a sphere of services. 72 million people should not be involved in the sphere of production. We don't need so many people there so long as their labor efficiency is very low and power consumption too great.

These productions require dual technologies in order to initiate the production of consumer goods.

In the near future, we will present a general program of structural changes for our industry as a minimum.

Q: Housing construction has been acknowledged as a priority sphere. Will any privileged credits and loans provided to individual builders?

A: As you know, recently we adopted the law on mortgages. In my opinion, this mechanism, too, should come into play in resolving this problem in the sense that everyone who ventures to build something can mortgage something as well. A city resident, for example, could mortgage an apartment he or she is not using. It goes without saying that this is a rigid mechanism, but it will help to address this issue without delay.

Q: Do you think there may be a return to the rigid finance-and-credit policy which Yegor Gaydar is insisting on?

A: Our finance-and-credit policy is already fairly rigid, and we are trying to correlate it with the developments in the country's economy.

Naturally, there was a certain comeback from the original concept. Nonetheless, I am confident that rigid finance-and-credit policy is a critical for us to succeed with the reform, therefore any new influx of money will only further the inflation and price hike.

Knowledgeably, with all these complaints about the economic collapse, not a single enterprise has been closed—either a small or a large one. This goes to show that we ought to rely on a rigid policy. In the meantime, in order for the government to pursue a rigid policy, the Supreme Council needs to provide us with a law on bankruptcy. Then we will be able to take up structural reconstruction of the Russian enterprises.

I believe that the new course will still be rigid in terms of finances, but it will be coordinated and maximally adapted to the existing reality and to the actual state of our economy.

Q: How do you take the speculations about a replacement of the premier and other government changes at the coming 7th Congress of People's Deputies?

A: I don't take them anyhow. We have a Constitutional Court and a division of powers. Therefore, everything will be done in strict compliance with the law.

According to the law, the Congress of People's Deputies has no authority to fire anyone or replace one government by another. All it can do is to pass a vote of no-confidence. The government, however, can be formed or dissolved only by the president, and he alone will decide who he will continue to work with.

If you wish to know my opinion, a government replacement will not produce any positive changes in the country. On the contrary, we shouldn't replace anyone today.

I would offer you the following example. A director of an enterprise which is still under construction fairly never retains this post when the enterprise goes into operation. He is usually replaced at the moment when technological equipment is coming to the plant. Then a new team comes to replace him and those who worked with him. As regards our today's team, we are only laying down the foundation. Therefore, it is too early to replace this team.

Q: What kind of disagreements do you have with the Presidium of the Supreme Council in regards to the draft law on the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation?

A: There are two of them: the number of members of the government to be approved by the Supreme Council and the Congress, and the body that will have the authority to authorize this structure.

Q: How do you take the coming of Yegor Nita to the president's advisory group? As is known, he is proposing to resolve all of our troubles by a giant issue of the rubles under the conditions of stable ruble-to-dollar rate of exchange on the basis of mandatory sales for rubles of the exporters' entire hard currency income.

A: Such an option could only be addressed if we had a well-oiled system. Even the phrase "on the basis of mandatory sales for rubles of the exporters' entire hard currency income" contains a problem: who will supervise it? There is no one to do it for the time being. The currency control committee is still not operating. Generally speaking, the tax system ought to be very well developed. We should have reliance on the banking system and on the entire system of money circulation—then we would be able to discuss reorganizations and re-distribution of this money mass.

It appears to be a purely hypothetical issue today, and in my opinion, it shouldn't even be addressed in practical terms, so long as under this system and the existing mechanism no revolutionary changes may help.

Q: What do you think the president is proceeding from when he asserts that our economy will be stabilized in 1993?

A: If you take a peace [as received] of paper and a pencil and closely analyze the developments, you may see the signs of stabilization and approaching breakthrough. We are really approaching a new phase of the reforms, while many people fail to notice this.

I will offer you the examples which can serve as a basis for certain conclusions. Judging by the weekly statistical accounts of power consumption in the country, we can observe a production decline which has continued from the moment when our radical reforms.

Beginning from July, however, this curve has been straightening with half of the subjects of the Russian Federation, even rising with some of them. This phenomenon is attributed to the growth of minor producers which have already emerged but are still unnoticed by many.

The problem is that the GOSKOMSTAT (Russian State Statistics Committee) is still taking into account state-owned enterprises only. In the meantime, the statistical account for Kuban region, for instance, indicates that the number of minor privately-owned enterprises has grown from 1700 to 5732 throughout this year alone. These enterprises are employing from 50 to 100 persons while they are turning out the goods which are in great demand at the market. The statistics, however, does not reflect this.

The other indirect indication of this is in the volume of loading and unloading operations. This factor is most important economic-wise. For a certain period of time, we have been observing its steady decline, while in some regions it has steadied up and even is gradually going up.

The statistics results are equally good as regards employment. The number of people who have associated themselves with market-oriented economy is steadily growing. All the people, be it personnel at privately-owned enterprises, joint ventures, small enterprises, cooperatives—in any market-type forms, including the vendors in the streets, are associated with the market one way or another.

Their number, I would admit, is increasing, and should we reach the so-called "critical mass" in this area—it's about 40 million people or over half of the employed population, we will have every reason to state that we have made a breakthrough.

On Industrial Policy Council, Civic Union

PM0511105992 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 1

[Vladimir Khrustov report: "Vladimir Shumeyko: 'The Government Very Much Needs This Council'"]

[Text] The main burden of the reforms is being borne by the regions, and they should have the rights and finance to solve their own problems. The recently established Russian Federation Government Council for Industrial Policy under the chairmanship of Vladimir Kadannikov, general director of "AvtoVAZ," is designed to play an important role in this area. This idea was stressed in conversation with ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's correspondent by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, talking about the new organization's goals and tasks.

The council, which includes the most prestigious representatives of the country's directors, is in no way a buffer between the government and production managers. On the contrary, it is an important consultative organ designed to provide collective expertise on all the most important projects and decisions being prepared by the government. Thus, the new council is in no way duplicating, much less undermining, the State Committee for Industrial Policy—they simply have different functions.

The fact that many general directors who make up the council (and they include such well-known firms as St. Petersburg's "LOMO," "KamAZ," "AvtoVAZ," "Uralmash," the Ilyushin Design Bureau, and others) head enterprises that have already been privatized is also very important. They are therefore active supporters of reform.

At its first, organizational session, the council discussed issues that will have to be resolved as a priority—the programs of anticrisis measures and privatization for next year, and measures to develop conversion.

Stating his position on Civic Union, Vladimir Shumeyko reported that government representatives may take part in the planned 14-15 November congress of the organization and are prepared to heed the union's opinion on the economy, since its representatives are not suggesting that everything be started from scratch, but consider the present-day state of affairs in the economy to be the starting point.

Volskiy Interviewed on Economic Credo

PM0411160192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Oct 92 First Edition pp 2, 5

[Interview with A.I. Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, by Yelizaveta Leontyeva; place and date not given: "Arkadiy Volskiy: The Power Struggle Is Taking Place on the Ruins of the Economy"]

[Text] Journalists stand in line to see A.I. Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. And they are not the only ones. His six-day week (which includes Saturday) is fully booked from 0900 to 2100: deputies, economists, politicians, enterprise managers—inveterate champions of the "state," and already hardened market-oriented entrepreneurs. He is spoken of as a future vice premier. Or even premier.

[Leontyeva] Arkadiy Ivanovich, no doubt it is unethical to ask which problems are brought to you by such a large number of people, but...

[Volskiy] What secrets can there be here when the issue is how to go on living?! People come to convey the feelings of their collectives, to share their observations, to express their views on overcoming the global crisis enveloping the country. Some bring their own solutions, some come for friendly advice, and some want to further synchronize positions. I will stress right away: They come first and foremost to the president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, that is, to the leader of an organization which reflects the interests of a major social force. We are open to dialogue with everyone, without political bias. With everyone who is seeking a way out. The day before our interview with you, we chatted with Russian people's deputies from the "Reform" faction. And once again I was convinced that it is irrational and short-sighted to depict the congress, the Supreme Soviet, and the deputy corps as the "devil incarnate," as an anti-reformist force. The basic mass of deputies are inclined toward the constructive discussion of problems. And the fact that they are not giving standing ovations to those figures who are fighting for power on the ruins of the economy—well, we can only thank God for this!

[Leontyeva] But do enterprise managers still display the same interest as formerly in "coalescing" here? Does this highly cumbersome-looking formation—a managers' union that already has its own history—still stand firm?

[Volskiy] In my view, absolutely. We have a ramified system of both sectoral and regional departments, and they hold the union together quite solidly.

[Leontyeva] But other unions, associations, and leagues are operating in parallel with you. In fact, some people evaluated the meeting between Gaydar's team and a group of managers in Tolyatti as a sign of a split in the Union of Industrialists.

[Volskiy] There is not a single country in the world with structures that exclusively express the interests of industrialists and entrepreneurs. Even such authoritative associations as "Patronat" in France or "Confindustria" in Italy have other, lesser unions existing alongside them. I see nothing wrong with a diversity of such associations in our country in particular, when industrialists and entrepreneurs are still only learning how to defend their interests.

Now a word about Tolyatti. I can only welcome such links. We have been trying all year to convince the government of the need for contacts with managers. Most of the meeting's participants were members of our union, and the positions that they expounded there wholly coincide with the documents from its recent board meeting, and with our anti-crisis proposals. Including as regards the main question: We have always proclaimed our support for the president's and government's general line on conducting reforms, always declared our readiness to establish businesslike cooperation, and rejected the path of confrontation, but there were, of course, major differences of opinion.

[Leontyeva] Can the participants in the Tolyatti meeting be considered to reflect the view of the majority of the managerial corps?

[Volskiy] Yes, the majority. Although admittedly, two circumstances must be taken into account. The managers of a number of enterprises that embarked upon privatization two or three years ago, and that have thus passed through the difficult phase, were at the meeting. And second: The incentives that Gaydar, Aven, Shokhin, and Chubays promised the meeting's participants would delight all 150,000 of the country's managers and entrepreneurs had the government applied them universally. But even the fact that they have approached the needs of these major enterprises rationally is a good thing, as this will allow for more productive work by hundreds of thousands of people.

[Leontyeva] Throughout recent years—beginning from the launching of perestroyka—you were a consistent defender of the managerial corps. Do you feel comfortable with this role? Or is the role, perhaps, more suited to a high-level politician?

[Volskiy] To be honest, I never wanted to get involved in politics. I hate to say it but it is a dirty business, and it is a highly specific business, especially now. By nature, I cannot operate alongside the schemers. It is depressing to watch people so close to the "throne" squabble. But previously, too, I avoided this sphere. It is for this very reason that, after returning from Karabakh, I refused 11 offers of respected political posts. Including posts like deputy chairman of the Union Council of Ministers, and ambassador to one of the "prosperous" countries. I am quite happy with the place I now occupy. It is with pleasure that I am dealing with the establishment of a new managers' union, which is highly important for our economy. Moreover, back at the constituent congress we declared that if the managerial corps starts to play at politics instead of concentrating on its main task, we will lose the collectives.

The union, to my deep satisfaction, is making efforts in the main area of ensuring that the Russian economy survives. Above all, it is making every effort to hold back the slump in production and to preserve the stability of labor collectives. How can we fail to protect such people?

I consider the initiative by us and the trade unions to found an assembly of social partnership to be a very important step. It is a pity that the press did not give this matter due attention. You know, we are a very diverse bunch—employees, employers—but we are doing everything to prevent a clash between the interests of these two groups. You are no doubt aware that managers often restrain workers from going out into the street, from participating in what would be a confrontational situation for society. We do not want labor collectives to break up society for a second time.

Not so long ago, I had an eight-hour meeting with managers of plants I know well, where labor forces range from 100 to over 1,000 people. We agreed that there is no need to get involved in the battle between "democrats" and "patriots." (Which very words have been stripped of their genuine meaning!) At the same time, we are not satisfied with what is going on in the upper ranks when the economy is becoming the victim of the stupidity, unprofessionalism, and opportunism of individual politicians.

The mentality of Russians is such that for them the enemy can only be leading figures in the state, and it is obligatory that they be ministers. For instance, the name Alekseyev means nothing to them, and they do not consider him a man upon whom any kind of important state matter depends. This is why we see the names of Yeltsin or Khasbulatov on demonstrators' banners most often. It is toward them, as well as toward Gaydar, that national discontent is being directed now at a time when life is deteriorating. But you know, the fact is that the faithfully drawn-up program of reforms is being distorted lower down. You have to agree that it should not be the general designer of a system who is held responsible for defective output during the manufacture of components. A specific fitter, mechanic, or workshop chief should be made to answer.

Our position is this: The president is "hors-concours." He is the guarantor of stability. It is necessary to consolidate all reformist forces around him. But then there are the intrigues, the scheming, the battle of the "bonapartists," and the mutual castling—"I will remove you because you do not respect me"—once all this begins, then this kind of politics is not to our liking. This is no longer politics, but mud-slinging. We, like the whole country, want the "upper ranks" to be a normal, hardworking team, debating, but not bickering with one another.

[Leontyeva] In saying "we," are you thinking of the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs?

[Volskiy] Not just them. I am also thinking of the "All-Russian Renewal Union," and "Civic Union" too.

[Leontyeva] But didn't you say that politics is not your thing?

[Volskiy] True. However, when politics begins to destroy the economy, then you have either to demand that policy be changed, or that all those politicians who have lost their heads be replaced. The experience of many countries proves that industrialists' unions, as a rule, find support in the form of one or another party which also conducts political activity. So only those managers and workers who want this join "Renewal." Membership in our union does not mean automatic participation in "Renewal". Incidentally, I myself hold posts in neither "Renewal" nor "Civic Union." And frankly, I am vexed when journalists write that Volskiy is directing the game from the wings, staying in the shadows. I am not aiming to be in the shadows, I want to get on with my own work, which means a lot to me.

[Leontyeva] You have been asked many times already whether you dream of the premiership...

[Volskiy] Yes, I've done a count especially, and you are the 27th person to ask me this. And yet again I will reply—no. The inhabitants of government seats can rest assured: I, personally, am making no claim on them. Let them get on with their work, only without making stupid mistakes. But if they don't stop doing stupid things, then our position will be more categorical.

[Leontyeva] We managed to familiarize ourselves through the press with the "Civic Union" economic program. At any rate, that is what the journalists call it. Are you aware of the Russian Government's reaction to it?

[Volskiy] In actual fact, what they are talking about is merely a plagiarized section of my speech at the Russian Union of Industrialists recent board meeting. And it is not an economic program, merely proposals to get the country out of crisis elaborated by well-known economists (Yermenko, Petrakov, and many others). There will be a Congress of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs on 14 November. It is this congress that must finally approve these measures. It is still too early to talk about them. But let them be our common measure, not "Volskiy's Program." It is possible that we will discuss them publicly—this is not such a difficult task.

As for my speech at the board meeting, then in many ways the positions expounded there found understanding in the government and with the president. Remember, for instance, the positive things that the president said about "Civic Union" at the Supreme Soviet session. And statements made by the government today—that it is necessary through simultaneous monetarist and macroeconomic measures to transfer to a microeconomy, that is, to enterprises—to a certain extent bring us closer together. It is a pity that they took so long to listen to us.

We have constantly stated in connection with the program that our union is not an opposition, although this is a wholly civilized concept. But if the government fails to adopt the program's basic principles we will be forced to move into opposition, although this would be undesirable. People will demand this.

[Leontyeva] In your speech at the union's board meeting, you talked about measures to support the state sector on the one hand, and entrepreneurs on the other. It turns out that there seem to be two wings of the economy. But won't the differing approach to these wings that is being proposed be to the detriment of the latter group?

[Volskiy] Economists have already spoken to me about this: It is not done to talk about a dual-sector economy. You have to talk about a mixed economy. But this is just the terminology, not the essence. The essence is this: It is wrong to act as if we have no state industry while at the same time doing nothing for the private sector. This is the crux of our differences of opinion. It cannot be otherwise: When one order is being replaced by another, then the questions of ownership moves to the fore. It is simply impossible to ignore it. But on the other hand, it is wrong to privatize everything. This is a dream world. Italy has a total of 54 percent of state property, and the Italians live none the worse for this.

Furthermore, I am constantly being condemned for proposing that the experience of the development of the Chinese economy be studied. One newspaper even ran an article entitled "China Is Not Russia, and Volskiy Is Not Deng Xiaoping." Meanwhile, China started to use all forces at the state's disposal to support market structures and private ownership. And who is supporting these ideas in our country? Let me tell you without exaggeration that the basic market infrastructure was set up back under previous governments. Since then, the so-called radical reformers have been marking time. In every sphere of authority—legislative, executive, and judicial. Russia has even fallen behind its former "allies"—Kazakhstan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan—where much more has been done to protect enterprises, foreign investors, banking affairs, and to modernize economic law. It is this that should occupy our minds, not how to share out the IZVESTIYA office.

Why do I talk about the Chinese experience so much? Because there, reforms have been carried through without a fall in the population's living standards. While in our country, they have all but been elevated to the formula: Reforms demand sacrifices... Who said so? Why is it that the sacrifices must be borne by the population and not the theoreticians who, through their incompetence, have in practice brought the economy to collapse? Can you really tell me that it was objectivity that spawned the customs war? Or brought about the quota and licensing laws that are changed monthly? Or the mess in the tax system?

And if sacrifices are so necessary, perhaps we could start with the authors of these "sacrificial" concepts? Come to the altar of reforms and make way for more skilled and intelligent people.

Going back to the question of China—which elements of the Chinese experience should we emulate? First and foremost, state support for a market infrastructure. The market is not just about "buying and selling" at a stall, it is about plants like ZIL [Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant], VAZ [Volga Motor Vehicle Plant], and KamAZ [Kama Truck Plant] becoming absorbed in this element. But here, not even a stock exchange has been set up in any seriousness. The question arises—what is the point of floating an enterprise without a stock exchange. Unless the shares "operate" on the stock exchange, nobody can know their price. We talk to the government about this, too, when the matter comes around to the Chinese experience.

The second thing we talk about is: Upon initiating the reforms, the Chinese did not start to destroy state industry. What is better: To do a "loop the loop" to ultimate ruin, or to move upwards by 8 or 9 percent a year. In that country, the potential to feed their own people has been created. They have fed 1.2 billion people, and now they intend to grant us humanitarian aid. How long has this country been on the brink of starvation?

[Leontyeva] Arkadiy Ivanovich, it seems that you don't want to take a look at the West.

[Volskiy] The Russian eagle was a two-headed eagle precisely so that it could look West and East. I can also cite Pope when he said: "They need a third way." That is, not capitalism and not socialism. Three generations have lived under socialism, and now we are saying—come on, let's become capitalists before the new year. And the country is not ready—either psychologically, financially, or juridically. Have we really got our heads in the clouds to that extent?

In 1895, there was a Russian imperial industrialists union. Its chairman, P. Ryabushinskiy (the man, incidentally, who built the presentday ZIL enterprise) said: The way of others does not suit us—our country is completely different. The huge territories, a primitive infrastructure, the weakness of the economy, the huge number of multinational peoples, collective-communal thinking... Our way is most likely going to be a third way.

But let's hope that the private and state sectors of the economy compete on equal terms after privatization. At the same time, we have to remember to cut out what will never be privatized. Not in any country of the world. Only a schizophrenic would privatize plants producing nuclear bombs. Or the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station. Furthermore, we have to eradicate the view of some government members that "everything should be thrown into the water." As to which will sink, and which will swim—that's their business. These are primitive morals. I am prepared to repeat incessantly that we do need state regulation for the transition to the market.

[Leontyeva] Do you believe that the transition to the market should be slow? Journalists have portrayed this as your position from time to time.

[Volskiy] I have never said this. I said that the transition to the market cannot be too quick. This does not mean it must be slow. Life itself will define the amount of time that will be required for such a complex task. Without any "capitalist pledges."

Central Bank Restricts Sale of Goods for Hard Currency

MK0511104792 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 92 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Official" rubric: "Hard Currency Within Tight Framework"]

[Text] A temporary procedure for the sale of goods and services for foreign currency on the territory of Russia has been laid down.

The Central Bank of Russia Main Administration for Moscow informs enterprises, organizations, and citizens of the Moscow region that as of 3 November this year the following procedure for the sale of goods and services for foreign currency in Russia is in force:

1. Goods and services can be sold for hard currency only with the permission of the Russian Federation Central Bank. Permits issued to resident legal persons by the USSR State Bank and later by the Bank of Russia (until 1 July 1992) remain valid until their reregistration and the issue of new-model permits. The Central Bank will announce the procedure and timetable for reregistration at a later date.

2. For the moment new permits for foreign currency trade are not being issued.

3. Only foreign-produced goods which have been imported into Russia in conformity with customs regulations and for which the trading organization made payment in foreign currency using noncash procedures directly to a nonresident or a middleman who has concluded a contract with a nonresident may be sold for foreign currency on the territory of Russia.

4. Trading organizations must set the prices of goods sold for foreign currency in both foreign currency and rubles, on the basis of a correlation which they independently determine. Purchased goods may be paid for either in foreign currency or in rubles as the client chooses, without any restrictions.

5. The proceeds of organizations carrying out the aforementioned activity are paid into their current hard currency accounts in authorized Russian Federation banks, that is, in banks that have received permission from the Central Bank to carry out hard currency transactions. In this case there is no mandatory sale of part of the hard currency proceeds on the internal currency market.

The new procedure for the sale of goods or services for foreign currency on Russian Federation territory has been established by the Central Bank in connection with the Russian president's edict of 27 October 1992.

Supreme Soviet

Deputies Confirm Congress Date; Khasbulatov Proposes No Confidence Vote

PM0411165492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Sergey Chugayev: "R. Khasbulatov Proposes Consideration of Vote of Confidence in Government Prior to Congress"]

[Text] The routine joint session of the Russian Supreme Soviet which began in the morning of 4 November after a break of more than a week should apparently have clarified the changes in the distribution of forces in the top legislative body that have taken place in recent days.

The actions and statements of representatives of democratically inclined factions and centrists aligned with the "Civic Union" movement prompted assumptions about a change of course by parliament and a move toward closer, more constructive cooperation with the president and the executive. However, the very beginning of the debates—discussion of the agenda—showed that a significant proportion of the deputies, including parliament speaker R. Khasbulatov, who, following an illness, was once again chairing the session, intend to waive their principles not by much, if at all.

Convincing evidence of this was to be found in the Supreme Soviet's reaction to the proposal by the parliamentary coalition in support of reforms that the Congress be postponed to a later date. Deputy A. Surkov, spokesman for the coalition, read a statement adopted by the coalition at a conference that began work the previous day and in which many deputies who are not Supreme Soviet members took part.

The statement expresses approval of the president's actions to bar the activity of anticonstitutional forces and calls for unification of all democratic forces. Attention is also drawn to the danger of confrontation between the executive and the legislature and to the dangerous nature of the forces grouped around parliament today. The statement's authors believe that the potential for cooperation between the president and the Supreme Soviet is far from exhausted, and they therefore call on their colleagues to vote to postpone the congress.

However, by a majority of votes, deputies decided not to reopen the consideration of this question. Commenting on the results of the vote, R. Khasbulatov stressed that he would support the idea of consolidation and would call on ministers not to act provocatively or to whip up the atmosphere. Otherwise, R. Khasbulatov stated, the Supreme Soviet may be tempted to use its constitutional right and express no confidence in the government even before the Congress. Shortly after, the Supreme Soviet chairman came back to this idea and proposed to his colleagues that they examine in the near future the question of a vote of confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers (probably in the course of discussion of the draft law on the government), in order, as he put it, "not to link the fate of the government with the congress."

Thus the Supreme Soviet chairman's possible response to the president's recent actions to strengthen the executive becomes clear. R. Khasbulatov also criticized recent arguments in the mass media (he referred to IZVESTIYA in particular) on the possibility of imposing presidential rule in Russia. He described such talk as virtually "calls for a new SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency]."

Deputies Debate; Votes Tallied

OW0411125392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1114 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At Wednesday's [4 November] morning session of the Russian Supreme Soviet, only 34 deputies spoke out to revise the decision of the parliament to conduct the congress of the Russian deputies in early December. 101 deputies disagree with the postponing of the congress and 4 abstained from voting.

Aleksey Surkov, representing the parliamentary coalition of reforms, put forward a proposal to return to the issue concerning the date of the congress.

While discussing the agenda, the Supreme Soviet declined the proposal of the deputy of the opposition block "Russian unity," Ilya Konstantinov. At the session he had proposed to consider "the issue on the situation in Russia and on measures aimed at the security of the constitutional system." Konstantinov cited the address of the political council of the "Front of national salvation" (chaired by him) to the parliament. "The statement contains an appeal "to immediately react to the Russian President's October 28 decree" on dissolution of the organizational committee of the Front of national salvation. [quotation marks as received] 71 deputies supported Konstantinov's proposal, 35 were against and 19 abstained.

The parliament declined Mikhail Chelnokov's (one of the leaders of the opposition faction "Civil Society") proposals to the agenda. The deputy proposed to discuss the issue of the non-constitutionality of the Council of the heads of the republics within the Russian Federation. He also proposed to invite Boris Yeltsin to the session "because of his disrespectful reaction to the Supreme Soviet's refusal to postpone the date of the congress."

Presidium Discusses Draft Laws; Adopts Decrees

PM0411165792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Nov 92 First Edition p 1

[Report from correspondents and news agencies column: "At the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A Presidium session was held 3 November in the Russian House of Soviets. It was chaired by Russian

Federation Supreme Soviet chairman R. Khasbulatov. In connection with the examination of the draft decree on manning the Russian Federation Internal Affairs Ministry internal forces, the Supreme Soviet Commission on Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices was instructed to participate in the formulation of the question of financing their transition to a contract system.

The session discussed Russian Federation Supreme Soviet draft laws "On the State Protection of Top Officials of Russian Federation Constitutional Organs of Power," "On the Russian Federation State Border," and "On Granting the Russian Federation's Administrative Border with the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic the Status of a State Border." Decrees were adopted on these draft laws.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium also adopted a decree "On the Administration for the Protection of Facilities of Supreme Organs of State Power and Government of the RSFSR," which will operate until the corresponding Russian Federation law is adopted.

Deputies Question Official on START Provisions

LD0411145892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Report by correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov on the 4 November Supreme Soviet session]

[Text] Deputies very quickly ratified the treaty between Russia and France and focused all their attention on the START treaty. It emerged from a report delivered by a Russian Foreign Ministry representative that Ukraine may considerably delay the START treaty's adoption and implementation. The Ukrainian parliament recently reviewed its defense doctrine, from which it is apparent that the republic has no intention of parting with its nuclear weapons. A number of Russian deputies submitted a proposal that the problem be examined by the respective Supreme Soviets.

Passions also raged around ratification following an address by Russian Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov, who said that there are problems with destroying solid fuel missiles, using nuclear power units from submarines, and reprocessing missile fuel. There was no clear answer to a question from Speaker Khasbulatov as to why these matters had not been resolved. Moreover, Deputies Sevastyanov and Pavlov saw only concessions to the United States and a diminution of Russia's security in the START treaty. Deputy Sevastyanov complained that deputies still did not know where our missiles have been sent.

Boris Gromov remarked that the Supreme Soviet is not the place to discuss this matter. The deputy defense minister affirmed that the START treaty does not undermine the army's combat effectiveness or Russia's security, although he admitted that in some cases the Defense Ministry had made mistakes in eliminating certain modern weapons.

Following the break, the deputies nevertheless ratified the START treaty.

Deputy Defense Minister Details Cuts

OW0411185892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1538 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday, the Russian parliament ratified the Soviet-American treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons, concluded in July 31, 1991 (157 to 1 votes with 26 abstentions).

According to the parliament's decision, the exchange of the ratification notes between the US and Russia will take place after Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine join the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, signed on July 1, 1968 and after these four republics reach an agreement on the procedure of implementing it.

The president was instructed to charge the government with the task of drafting a state programme for implementing the agreement. This programme is expected to offer ways of eliminating and utilizing armaments and military equipment.

In the first quarter of 1993 the ministry of defence will present a report on the implementation of the agreement.

Russia's Deputy Defence Minister Boris Gromov told the parliament that for the first time ever it puts a strong accent on real cuts on the strategic offensive weapons, not merely on their limitation. According to the treaty, the former USSR is to cut down 42 per cent of the warheads and 36 per cent of the delivery vehicles, and the US - 43 per cent of the warheads and 29 per cent of delivery vehicles. Russia and the US are allowed to have up to 1,600 delivery vehicles and up to 6,000 warheads, including 4,900 warheads in deployed inter-continental ballistic missiles and in the submarine-based ballistic missiles.

The 1991 Soviet-American treaty on the strategic offensive weapons is expected to be ratified by the parliaments of nuclear republics of the former Soviet Union - Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. According to the agreements concluded subsequently, the strategic weapons located in them will be cut down within the framework of the treaty on the strategic offensive weapons.

Panels Discuss Plan for Destruction of Chemical Weapons

PM0411160992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Viktor Litovkin: "Chemical Weapons Destruction Program Approved in Russian Supreme Soviet Committees"]

[Text] The first phase of the Russian program for the destruction of chemical weapons stocks has been discussed at a joint session of two Russian Supreme Soviet committees—the Committee for Industry and the Power Industry and the Committee for Questions of the Environment and the Rational Use of Natural Resources.

IZVESTIYA has already reported on the program in detail, and we will therefore focus attention only on its fundamental provisions and on that which has not yet been covered. The most important point is the intention to recycle toxic substances and convert them into a source of raw resources for Russia insteadt of burning them off. This applies primarily to arsenic, which is an especially valuable material for the electronics industry.

It is not extracted on Russia's territory, but stocks of it lie "buried" in lewisite, and they amount to almost 2,000 tonnes. With a price of $3,000 per kilogram and the country's annual requirements amounting to 15-20 tonnes, it will not not only meet the country's needs but will also become a source of major currency earnings.

The largest stocks of lewisite are located in the city of Kambarka (Udmurtia)—6,600 tonnes [as published], and in the settlement of Gornyy, Saratov Oblast—around 1 tonne. Warehouses containing yperite and yperite-lewisite compounds are also located there. There are plans to build terminals at those locations to discharge and detoxify the old containers of toxic substances. Then the inert substances will be transported to reprocessing facilities. A pilot industrial facility for recycling the byproducts of detoxification will be located in the city of Volsk-17, Saratov Oblast.

Artillery shells, rockets, and mortar shells containing organophosphorus substances (sarin, soman, and V-gases)—a total of 9,800 tonnes of toxic substances—stored at depots in the city of Shchuchye, Kurgan Oblast, and the city of Kizner (Udmurtia) will be shipped to the "Khimprom" Production Association's modernized plant in Novocheboksarsk (Chuvashia), where they will also be recycled. According to experts, that plant has retained a unique (150- to 200-strong) team of highly skilled specialists who have experience working with such weapons and boast an accident-free record.

The cost of implementing the first phase of the program, including tackling the social problems of the population—and that is its priority—will come to 4.4 billion rubles [R] in summer 1992 prices, which includes R320 million allocated to Kambarka; R207 million to Gornyy; over R100 million to Cheboksarsk; R29 million to the pilot industrial facility in Volsk-17; R100 million for railroad modernization; R80 million to a diagnostic and prevention center...

The construction of the terminals and the pilot industrial facilities and the modernization of the plant in Novocheboksarsk will take four to six years. Some 43 percent (17,000 tonnes) of all stocks of Russian toxic substances will then be destroyed by the year 2004.

But it will be possible to start this work only if, as was stressed by Vitaliy Vitebskiy, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for Industry and the Power Industry, it receives the approval of not just parliament but also the population and administrations of the localities where it is planned to recycle the chemical weapons.

The program will be examined in parliament after consideration of the comments of specialists and the population of the regions. Appropriations for it should start on 1 January 1993, otherwise Russia will be unable to meet its international commitments and, most importantly, will not for a very long time yet dispose of the danger of being "blown up" by its own chemical "mines."

Border With Baltics Designated State Frontier

LD0411173292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1509 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By parliamentary correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—A decision was adopted at the evening sitting of Russia's Supreme Soviet to give the status of a state border to the border of the Russian Federation with the Latvian Republic, the Lithuanian Republic, and the Estonian Republic.

In introducing a corresponding decision, Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary committee on questions of defense and security, noted that the Baltic countries have already unilaterally established a harsh visa control and customs regime. Stepashin said that giving the border the status of a state border will provide Russian border guards and customs services a legal basis to their work and will give them the opportunity "to really get down to securing the border regime and the struggle against contraband."

Parliament Ratifies Treaty With France

LD0411181792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0949 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The Russian parliament on Wednesday ratified the treaty between Russia and France, submitted by the president.

The treaty was signed by Boris Yeltsin on February 7 this year during his official visit to France. The treaty sealed a new quality of bilateral relations, laid down the new legal basis for their development and extension. It marks the first time that a treaty with a Western country stipulates an obligation to regard each other not only as partners but also as friendly and potentially allied states.

The treaty lays down the foundation for extending bilateral ties in various fields: Culture, military contacts, education, combatting organised crime, humanitarian issues, ecology. Article 22 of the treaty contains an obligation of the sides to agree on "settling mutual financial and property claims pertaining to the interests and property of physical and juridical persons of the two countries". As Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin explained, this article also provides for solving the problem of debts of Tsarist Russia.

The treaty is valid for 10 years and can be automatically prolonged for five years.

Churkin Outlines Benefits

OW0411191992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1538 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday, the Russian parliamentt ratified the treaty between the Russian Federation and France, signed in Paris on February 7, 1992.

Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, who presented this document, said that the treaty "reflects France's commitment to the assertion of the democratic principles in Russia as a strong and stable state and as an important element of European and international balance."

Asked by deputies about ways of repaying Russia's pre-revolution debts to France, Churkin said that without the settlement of this problem Russia can hardly reckon on the inflow of French private capital. He also said that ministry of finance has been instructed to begin work on this problem.

Vice-Chairman of the parliamentary committee for international affairs and foreign-economic relations Iona Andronov said that Russia is the successor of the Soviet Union, not the Russian empire. However, he did not rule out the possibility of holding talks on the issue. According to his sources, French banks keep what had remained of the gold bars and gold coins transferred to France by the tsarist government for purchasing armaments. In 1917 this capital was estimatted at 22 million francs.

Deputies Vote To Confirm Gerashchenko as Central Bank Chairman

LD0411212792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1608 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—The joint session of the Russian parliament's two chambers today approved Viktor Gerashchenko as chairman of the Central Bank of Russia. Until today Gerashchenko was the bank's acting chairman.

Responding to questions in parliament, the country's chief banker said that "to speak about making the Central Bank part of the cabinet, that is pushing us to the past, would be a mistake. It should be answerable to the Supreme Soviet by all means".

Asked what are the present cabinet's main shortfalls, Gerashchenko said: "To my mind, the present government overdid in toughening its money and credit policy and failed to reduce the budget deficit. Moreover, it seems to me that it pinned excessive hopes on the Russian economy's ability to develop by itself under the present conditions".

Nevertheless, Gerashchenko stressed "that the Central Bank must look for ways of cooperating with the government and where a common platform cannot be found, we must speak about it openly".

Delegation Leaves for Northern Caucasus

OW0511114192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1038 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A commission of the Russian parliament for supervising and promoting a settlement between North Ossetia and Ingushetia left Moscow for Vladikavkaz on Thursday [5 November] morning. Deputy speaker Yuriy Yarov who heads the delegation told IF [INTERFAX] that the main task of the commission at the first stage is to study the situation in the region and then work out proposals on normalization.

A commission member Aleksandr Selivanov told IF that upon arrival in Vladikavkaz the MPs will split in two groups: one to work in the North Ossetian capital Vladikavkaz and the other in the Ingush capital Nazran. The results of the work will be reported to parliament next week.

Regional Affairs

Moscow, Tatarstan Agree on Most Treaty Issues

LD0411182892 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0830 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Nine of 12 points of a draft bilateral treaty have been agreed to by Tatar Vice President Vasiliy Likhachev and Russian Parliament Deputy Chairman Yuriy Yarov during their meeting in Kazan. INTERFAX reports from well-informed sources that the remaining differences are on the status of Tatarstan, the republican share in the diamond and gold fund, and on Russia's foreign debt.

Tatar Supreme Soviet Chairman on Relations With Russia

MK0411140592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 1

[Radik Batyrshin report under the "Tatarstan" rubric: "Tatarstan Is Not Bosnia. Republic's Supreme Soviet Chairman on the Appeal by Russian Colleagues"]

[Text] The appeal by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's Soviet of the Republic calling on Kazan to postpone the adoption of a new Tatarstan Constitution has not yet officially reached the Republic of Tatarstan capital. Therefore Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, formed an opinion of it from the ITAR-TASS report. According to Mukhametshin, the style of the appeal is similar to the style of the Russian parliament's "antireferendum" appeal and the corresponding resolution by the Constitutional Court: "Yes, our new Constitution is unlike the previous one, but Tatarstan is not the same as before. We did not sign the Federation Treaty and are building our relations with the Russian Federation at a higher level." He regarded the comparison drawn by Oleg Rumyantsev, senior secretary of the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission, between the situation in Tatarstan and the situation in Bosnia as "an attempt to pass off supposition as reality." He believes that on the threshold of the Congress, the Russian parliament will exploit the "Tatar card" in its struggle with the government. "Russia is more interested than we are in the products of the military-industrial complex enterprises located in the republic, and therefore it will invest in them," Mukhametshin stated, speaking about the Russian Federation parliament's reproaches to the Russian Government, which is allegedly promoting Tatarstan's independence.

The speaker of the Tatarstan parliament is convinced that the republic's new constitution will be adopted and "a form of mutual relations with the Russian Federation will be found and enshrined in Article 66." He also expressed the hope that the new relations between Russia and Tatarstan will be enshrined in the Russian Federation basic law.

Tatarstan Parliament Ratifies Clauses on President

OW0511011092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1929 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a paragraph by paragraph discussion of a draft of the new constitution, deputies of Tatarstan's Supreme Soviet approved the chapter on the president of the republic.

According to the chapter, the president of Tatarstan is the head of state. Citizens of the republic from 35 to 65 years of age who have maintained a permanent residence in the republic for at least 10 years and are fluent in the official state language of the Republic of Tatarstan are eligible for election to this post.

In a discussion of the powers of the head of state it was decided that the president would not be given the right to nominate the chairperson and members of Tatarstan's Constitutional Court. This right was bestowed on the Supreme Soviet. Among the powers granted the president is the right to pardon individuals convicted by the republic's courts. The constitutional draft contains no provision on the right of Russian Federation organs of power to review the decisions of Tatarstan's courts.

The president also has the right to introduce a state of emergency in the republic or in separate locations of the republic under approval of the Tatarstan parliament.

Tatarstan Signs Economic Agreement With Hungary

LD0411202492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] An economic agreement has been signed between the governments of Hungary and Tatarstan. It includes approximately 10 contracts between various firms. For example, next year the Tatneft association [Tatar oil] will supply Hungary with 1,000,000 tonnes of oil, while the Hungarian firm Ikarus will supply 150 buses. In addition, there was an agreement to create several joint ventures.

Novosibirsk Soviet Demands Repeal of Yeltsin Edicts, Powers

MK0411141592 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 2

[Sergey Modestov report under the "Facts, Events, People" rubric: "Novosibirsk Deputies 'Recall' the President"]

[Text] During the last few days of October a session of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies took place in Novosibirsk which requested the Russian Federation president and government to assist the oblast with 500,000 tonnes of grain, budget appropriations, and targeted, preferential credits worth over 30 billion rubles.

By a slender majority of votes the session also voted for a recommendation that the upcoming seventh Congress of People's Deputies "adopt a resolution repealing the additional powers given to the president and demanding that he repeal all edicts and government decrees that contravene existing legislation and the constitution." An appeal to remove the institution of the presidency from the constitution was also adopted.

Oblast Administration Head V.P. Mukha lodged a protest over the session's decision, guided by the following reasons. First, there are no juridical grounds for recommending that the upcoming seventh Congress of People's Deputies repeal presidential edicts and government decrees, since a decree of the fifth Congress of People's Deputies defines a procedure for bringing them into legal force, which is what the Supreme Soviet was guided by. Second, the said recommendations concerning the most important constitutional foundations of state power in

Russia were adopted by 70-80 deputies' votes, which is less than half of the soviet's officially listed membership.

Using the powers granted by Article 24 of the Law "On Kray and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies and Kray and Oblast Administrations," the head of the Novosibirsk Oblast Administration proposed convening an extraordinary session of the soviet to examine the protest lodged by him no later than 4-5 November.

Astrakhan's Guzhvin on Yeltsin Visit Results

PM0411150592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 92 p 2

[Correspondent Yuriy Shcherbinin report: "What the Volga Inhabitants Are Relying On. B. Yeltsin's Visit to Astrakhan Ends"]

[Excerpt] Volgograd-Astrakhan—[passage omitted] I put a question about the trip's results to Oblast Administration Head A. Guzhvin. He confirmed my assumptions regarding the visit's substance:

"All the documents prepared by us have been signed. It is gratifying that the president saw for himself the acuteness of the Caspian region's problems. He visited military sailors. He approved the revival of the Russian merchant fleet in the Caspian region. He signed specific programs for Astrakhan Oblast's social development.

"Any government full of noble aims and promises can reach new heights. I recall that these places were visited in summer 1990 by Ye. Ligachev, who still carried some weight then. But the measures were written out much more specifically: What to construct, for whom to construct it, and where to construct it—all point by point. Two months later Ligachev's star in the political sky waned and everyone forgot about Astrakhan. Until the next high-level visit.

"It is sad when everything under the sun in our Russia is linked with the name of a particular leader. All the slumps in our economy are objective, whereas even the slightest upturn is exclusively subjective. The center still wants to play the role of the arbiter of fate, but we did not fight for that. Do not remove everything that has been earned from Astrakhan, and then it will not be necessary to allocate additional resources from the country's budget. Because the same money is going from the province to the center and back. But the essence of the current authority is its distributive function. Therefore there is no difference between a government of stagnation and the present government in this regard.

"I would not like the president's visit to Astrakhan to have the same results as that of his constant opponent. In all senses. After all, the Astrakhan inhabitants will again be the only ones to suffer. But I cannot believe in special efficiency. I cannot believe a man who, wishing to please schoolchildren, states that he likes listening to the 'Genesis' rock band.

"I recall that Gorbachev was also associated with the 'Scorpions.' But we were forever convinced of his 'sincerity.'

"However, I have been talking about retired people all the time. The visit has ended. Let us hope that the Astrakhan inhabitants will be luckier this time."

Kalmykiya Elects New Parliamentary Chair

OW0511012492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1929 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After a second vote the parliament of Kalmykiya (a republic in the Russian Federation, Povolzhye) elected a new chairman to the Supreme Soviet Wednesday. He is 54 year old Ilya Bugdayev, who served as the republic's minister of agriculture until 1991. Up to now he has led one of the most prominent associations, "Kalmytskaya Sherst" ("Kalmikian Wool").

Bugdayev was nominated by the Kalmykiyan Supreme Soviet's Council of Elders. He was able to surpass the other two candidates only after the second round of voting.

Veniamin Sergeyev, who headed the permanent Commission on Matters of Legislation, Legality, Legal Order, and Human Rights, was proposed as a candidate for first deputy parliamentary chair. He was also slated for the post of head of parliament.

On Thursday Bugdayev is to present the candidacy of the republic's next prime minister to parliamentary deputies for discussion.

A week ago the former head of parliament Vladimir Basanov and former chairman of government Batir Mikhailov were forced to resign. They were rebuked for violations of Russian and Kalmykiyan legislation, corruption, and for not enacting measures to stop the rise in crime in the republic.

Poll Shows Muscovites Believe in Possibility of Coup

PM0411144592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by Nugzar Betaneli, director of the Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism: "Authorities' Ratings Dropping Rapidly"]

[Text] The independent Institute of the Sociology of Parliamentarianism held a routine poll of 1,000 Muscovites 29 October commissioned by the Information Television Agency (ITA). Here is what a comparative analysis showed.

Moscow is again full of talk, rumors, and "premonitions" of a coup d'etat. It seems that this subject is being discussed everywhere and by everyone. Recently fears have begun to intensify: The number of Muscovites who believe that a coup d'etat in Russia is possible in the next year has increased from 29 percent 6 August to 37 percent 29 October and there has been a corresponding reduction, from 42 percent in August to 36 percent in October, in the number of people who consider a coup unlikely. As before "this problem does not bother" 4 percent of those polled while 23 percent "found it hard to reply."

Although the "coup syndrome" does exist, to judge by the weekly Moscow polls no one present political force yet has sufficient influence in society. It would be curious to ask oneself or others: "Is there in Russia a party, political, organization, or movement which reflects your personal opinion and civil position?" In the opinion of 61 percent of Muscovites "there is not," while 30 percent found it hard to say and only 9 percent could name specific political forces.

Analysis shows that the tempestuous events of Russia's political life have had little effect on the structure of the political preferences of "ordinary" citizens. Thus, hope of Russia emerging from the crisis is connected with the present state authorities for 19 percent, with the democrats and their parties and movements for 8 percent, with the Russian national-patriotic movement for 2 percent, and with "other" forces for 8 percent. At the same time the majority (58 percent) either does not link any hopes with anyone or finds it hard to say anything definite.

The new "National Salvation Front" sociopolitical movement which only recently made itself felt but which has already managed to come under the president's ban also has no mass support or resistance: Only 5 percent of Muscovites have a positive attitude toward the National Salvation Front while 21 percent have a negative attitude. The majority either know nothing about the National Salvation Front (50 percent) or find it hard to define their attitude—24 percent.

It is entirely possible that psychological fears of a coup are caused not so much by a real threat as by the aggravated political struggle against the background of the protracted economic crisis. Some 61 percent of Muscovites (22 October poll) predicted that the struggle in the Russian "top echelons" would start to be stepped up last week. However, it seems that there will be no winners in this struggle. At any rate, the dynamics of the "authorities'" ratings indicate that. Thus, the number of Muscovites dissatisfied with the activity of the Russian Supreme Soviet has increased from 56 percent 10 September to 70 percent 29 October and the number of those who are "satisfied" is still 5 percent, while 12 percent found it difficult to define their attitude and 13 percent of Muscovites know nothing about its activity.

Over this same period B.N. Yeltsin's rating declined somewhat: The number of unequivocally positive assessments of the president's activity declined from 30 percent 10 September to 26 percent 29 October, while the number of unequivocally negative assessments increased from 15 percent in September to 20 percent in October. The majority (54 percent), as two months ago, are between these extreme positions: Of those polled 11 percent treat B.N. Yeltsin's activity "with some positive interest," 12 percent are indifferent, 21 percent treat it "with a certain caution," and 10 percent "find it hard to specify" their attitude.

The reasons for the mass skepticism are obvious. The majority are dissatisfied with their lives (62 percent in September, 70 percent in October), 58 percent of Muscovites do not believe in the success of the present economic policy and 48 percent believe that the "market economy should be developed differently." But all this does not mean, however, a rejection of the actual course of the reforms: Despite the fact that recently 33-42 percent of Muscovites unequivocally cannot stand the liberalization of prices, today only 9 percent (10 percent in April, 11 percent in August) believe that the market economy should be axed.

International Affairs

Vice Premier Explains Conditions for Trade With Russia

OW0411225892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1803 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Apart from money emerging as a result of the crediting emission, Ukrainian exports to Russia have virtually ceased, the country's vice-premier and economics minister Viktor Pynzenyk, said in an interview on national television.

Commenting on Monday's resolution by the government and the Bank of Ukraine about account-settling for imports from the former Soviet republics, Pynzenyk said the paper defines exactly what sort of imports are to be paid for through the National Bank or commercial structures. He said the resolution followed a payment crisis in trade relations with Russia.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: In the five months to November, Kiev transferred a total of Rbl 525 bln [billion rubles] to Russia to just Rbl 70 bln by Moscow to Ukraine. At the same time, Russia has agreed to provide a Rbl 100 bln credit to Ukraine to help it pay for basic commodities such as oil, gas and timber for coalmines.

Pynzenyk praised Russia's understanding of his country's economic hardships though saying Russia was at the same time in pursuit of its own interests given that the two countries economies were integrated to an extent that stoppages in Ukraine could lead to stoppages in Russia. He said the cabinet and the Bank of Ukraine were planning to set up a commission to monitor payments to Russia. In the meantime, the cabinet is due to announce incentives for export producers dealing with Russia, but the measure will be in force until Ukraine introduces a system of clearing without cash transfer.

The Ukrainian official said that all export barriers would go as soon as a non-transferrable coupon was introduced. At the same time, he accused the previous cabinet of failing to comply with the resolution on quitting the rouble area, which was the root cause of economic crisis in Ukraine.

Pynzenyk said the Russian government was planning to set Russia's rouble rate against roubles circulating in other former Soviet republics. He said the cabinet's immediate priority was to set conditions for a free flow of payments and resources between Russia and Ukraine as early as possible. He said the clearing of mutual liabilities can help raise the ceiling of minimal pay and pension in the republic.

President Orders Assistance for Entrepreneurs Union

LD0411202992 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] The president of Ukraine has issued an instruction on the East European Union of Entrepreneurs. The instruction says that with the aim of expanding the links between Ukraine entrepreneurs and organizations of businessmen of various countries, we recommend that the ministries and other central bodies of state, the executive power, and economic structures of all forms of property assist the East European Union of Entrepreneurs and its coordinating bodies in their activities for the development of free enterprise and mutually beneficial economic, scientific, and other ties between business circles of the countries and entrepreneurs' associations which belong to this union.

National Affairs

Security Services Investigate Smuggling of Strategic Materials

AU0511113492 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 28 Oct 92 p 5

[Report by Serhiy Shevchenko, Security Service press center: "Smugglers Do Not Let Chances Slip Through Their Fingers. But Counterintelligence on the Alert."]

[Text] Since the beginning of the year, the Security Service Administration responsible for Kiev and Kiev Oblast, in collaboration with law enforcement and supervision organs, has foiled 12 attempts on the part of various commercial structures to export from Ukraine strategic raw and other materials, as well as commodities in very short supply.

Among the enterprises that entered the administration's field of vision in the process of operational activity was the research and production firm "Lyena." Its workers tried to smuggle out a large batch of hafnium and zirconium worth about 70 million rubles [R]. The investigation department of Ukraine's Security Service is looking into the circumstances and mechanism of illegal actions and is revealing their perpetrators in the framework of the criminal case instituted against them.

The "Kontrakt-91" and "Buddetal" enterprises were also going to sell a batch of zirconium worth almost R16 million and 100 tonnes of bronze alloys. Businessmen from the limited liability company "AVIS-Ltd" (in Bila Tserkva) were preparing to take to Armenia, without licenses, 26 tonnes of sugar and one tonne of butter from the territory of a military unit, but law-enforcement organs intervened in time.

The goods that were meant for illegal sale abroad include large batches of argentous metal mercury [sriblyasta metaleva rtut], imported footwear, and food worth millions. The organizers of the actions resort to various tricks. Fictitious licenses are obtained from state and inspection organs, photocopies are made, and bribes are offered to officials. Various shortcomings in the work of customs houses are also taken advantage of, as is the absence in the state of an integral and single system of reliable control over the movement of goods across the border. In order to cover their tracks, the perpetrators practice repeated and multi-staged combinations for reselling the goods on the territory of Ukraine.

Today, Ukraine's Security Service Administration is inspecting other operational evidence regarding illegal entrepreneurship and the financial activity of Kiev's commercial structures and of related corrupt officials.

Government, Kuzbass Miners Sign Trade Accord

LD0411210792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Kuzbass and Ukraine signed a trade and economic cooperation agreement. Ukraine is interested in receiving Siberian coal, while the Kuzbass miners need electrical motors which are not prone to explosions, as well as mining equipment and foodstuffs.

Belarus

Parliament Adopts Law on State Border

LD0411232192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2100 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By BELINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Minsk November 4 TASS—The Belarusian parliament adopted a law on state border on Wednesday which reads that "Belarus resolves border issues with adjoining states on the basis of reciprocity and good neighbourly relations and in keeping with the given law and other legislative acts and international agreements of Belarus."

The law outlines main provisions concerning the Belarusian border, border regulations, border protection and responsibility for any violations in this sphere.

According to the law, border check points, including railway and highway stations, river ports, airports and aerodromes, are open for international transportations upon completion of their construction, the establishment of border and customs check points and other facilities exercising border control.

The newly adopted law determines the status of trespassers of the state border including persons attempting to cross the border violating existing rules, citizens who board vehicles bound for foreign countries to illegally leave the territory of Belarus and aircraft and other flying facilities crossing the Belarusian border without permission or violating rules, etc.

The law comes into force from the date of its publication.

Ratifies Law on Defense

LD0411232692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2124 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By BELINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Minsk November 4 TASS—The Belarusian parliament adopted a law on defence on Wednesday which reads that Belarus repudiates wars or the use of force as unacceptable means of achieving political and economic aims. The law admits that giving priority to a political dialogue, Belarus retains the right to use all economic, diplomatic and military means in order to prevent and curb aggression.

Under the law, Belarusian armed forces will consist of land troops, air forces, air defence troops and special purpose troops.

According to intergovernmental agreement, Russian strategic forces temporarily stationed in Belarus, will be withdrawn from its territory no later than in seven years. However, the terms might be reduced, said Mechislav Grib, chairman of the Belarusian Parliamentary Commission for National Security, Defence and Combating Crime. He believes there are projects which will enable to remove nuclear weapons from Belarus in 2.5 years and non-nuclear weapons in 3 years.

Communist Leader Views Results of Lithuanian Elections

WS0411133192 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 0938 GMT 30 Oct 92

[Text] [Passage indistinct] "Lithuanian events showed what is currently going on in Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Poland [words indistinct]," Chikin, leader of Belarusian communists, said. He thinks that the results of elections in Lithuania are typical. But he is not happy to see the victory of Brazauskas. According to Chikin, those events do not represent Brazauskas' victory but illustrate "Sajudis'" defeat. The Lithuanian Labor Party won because the Communist Party with which people tie up their hopes was outlawed.

"The pendulum has swung," the leader of Belarusian communists warned. He considered the Lithuanian events symptomatic of historic changes.

Moldova

Prime Minister Defends Privatization Plan

OW0411223992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our practical support for enterpreneurial business is the best answer to opposition reprimands of being a conservative government, Moldovan prime minister Andrey Sangheli said in an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX].

He named the cabinet approval of a two-year privatisation plan (1992-1994) among its best achievments during a 100-day honeymoon period in office. Under the plan, from 40% to 45% of state property is to be privatised through voucher distribution. This includes small size industrial plants, housing, retail trade and catering, services, road transport, construction, agriculture and the local industry.

The main stumbling block in the way of the government plan, Sangheli said, is caused by the widespread practice of default in the Commonwealth of Independent States putting it at Rbl 33 bln [billion rubles] by the time the new cabinet took over. He spoke of financial blockade virtually paralysing his country's economy, but the situation is somewhat redressed by now with arrears being narrowed to Rbl 22 bln after mutual debt-settling.

The prime minister hopes that government measures to reduce consumer imports and create commodity stocks will be effective.

Sangheli outlined a package of measures to beef up private enterprise, including the lifting of super-tax on export producers and lower excise duties on alcohol, carpets and jewelry. Measures are planned to speed up banking operations.

The government also plans to retain social security benefits in the farming sector and set up a support fund for risky enterpreneurial operations and small size businesses to be replenished in part from the proceeds of the privatisation campaign.

Snegur Advocates CSCE, UN Role in Dniester, Russia Negotiations

AU0411223192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1559 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 4/11/1992—After the official ceremony of handing over the letters of accreditation, the Republic of Moldova's President Mircea Snegur and Sweden's Ambassador Jan Lundvik had a talk when approach was made of the problems confronting the Republic of Moldova, especially of the consequences of the armed conflict in the eastern districts and last summer's drought.

Opinions were exchanged about the role that might be played by international bodies in the stage of politically settling the armed conflict in eastern Moldova. A reasonable solution, President Snegur showed, would be the resumption of the activity of the quadripartite mechanism with the direct participation of the CSCE and UN observers.

Experts of those prestigious international bodies should be also engaged in the process of Moldovan-Russian negotiations on the withdrawal of the 14th Army from the Republic of Moldova's territory. Sweden, whose foreign minister will soon become president of the CSCE Council of Ministers, might grant, through its diplomatic mission in the Republic of Moldova, a concrete support in settling those problems, President Snegur underscored—MOLDOVA-PRES agency informs.

Kazakhstan

Foreign Minister, Russia's Kozyrev Set Up Working Groups

LD0411222492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1716 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 4 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Kazakh counterpart Tuleutai Suleymenov held consultations in Alma-Ata on Wednesday.

During the talks the two foreign ministers agreed to set up two working groups: for cooperation in resolving problems of the Caspian Sea and measures to promote security in Asia.

Nazarbayev Underlines NATO Importance in Meeting Secretary General

LD0411221492 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1650 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata November 4 TASS—President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, received on Wednesday NATO Secretary-General, Manfred Woerner, who is on a current visit in Alma-Ata.

In the course of the talks, Nursultan Nazarbayev highly estimated the visit of the leader of this influential international organisation saying it is very important for Kazakhstan from the political viewpoint. Being one of the legal successors to the former Soviet Union, Kazakhstan strictly observes all the commitments that this implies. The republic signed the Helsinki Final Act, established serious economic contacts with some NATO states, including Britain, Italy, France, Germany, and other countries. But Kazakhstan does not divide the world into East and West, North and South, and has been actively developing economic relations both with neighboring and distant countries. For instance, Kazakhstan has intensified its relations with Turkey and Iran where a state delegation of the republic recently paid official visits. The Kazakh president informed Manfred Woerner of the results of these visits.

We wish to build a democratic state based on the values of the civilized world, Nursultan Nazarbayev said. This process is going on in difficult conditions. To make it easier, the republic needs the stability, both inside the country and outside. That is why we are seeking to strengthen friendly relations with the neighboring countries, and with other states, as well as trying to make our efforts within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States more coordinated. This is the major direction of the now being worked out military doctrine of our state which occupies an important strategic position on the junction between Europe and Asia, the Kazakh leader pointed out.

From this comes our initiative to call a conference on confidence-building measures in Asia where a huge potential has been accumulated capable of creating conflicting situations, the Kazakh president stressed. The aim of this conference is to involve the Asian countries in the stabilisation process. That would make it possible to take timely measures for easing tension in the region. In principle, such an organisation could closely collaborate with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). This idea was supported by the U.N. secretary-general and many countries in the region, Nursultan Nazarbayev said. The Kazakh leader expressed hope that the NATO will also back this initiative.

Manfred Woerner thanked Nursultan Nazarbayev for the invitation to visit the republic and for the cordial welcome. The NATO leader appreciated Kazakhstan's responsible policy on the international arena which concurs with the NATO position—to achieve the stability in the world by all possible means.

The NATO secretary-general expressed readiness of his organisation to help improve the situation in the commonwealth if its member states promote positive processes and economic integration within the community. It is also important for us, Manfred Woerner pointed out, that the strategic forces of the commonwealth and its nuclear potential should be under single control because only in such a way the risk of using these murderous weapons can be minimized.

According to Manfred Woerner, the NATO is ready to render any support to Kazakhstan. In the civic sphere this could be the exchange of scientific achievements, assistance in converting defense-related enterprises to the civil use, and in the military field - giving expert recommendations and the participation in the training of personnel. The NATO leader suggested a more intensive exchange of delegations and invited Nursultan Nazarbayev to visit the NATO headquarters in Brussels and speak there.

The Kazakh president accepted the invitation with thanks and assured Manfred Woerner that Kazakhstan will carry out a stabilizing policy in the issues which cause the NATO's concern.

After the talks, the NATO secretary-general held a news conference and later left for the Kyrgyz capital, Bishkek.

Nazarbayev, Moldova's Snegur Sign Friendship, Cooperation Treaty

AU0511114792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1003 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/11/1992—Mircea Snegur, President of the Republic of Moldova, made a one-day stopover in the capital of Kazakhstan, on November 4, en route to Beijing.

The visit started with a private meeting of the two presidents, Mircea Snegur and Nursultan Nazarbayev, followed by the signing ceremony of the treaty of friendship and collaboration between the two countries.

Concluded for a ten-year term, the treaty stipulates the further development of the mutually advantageous relations of cooperation that agree with the interests of the peoples in the two countries. The treaty provides among other things for the expansion and deepening of the collaboration in the economic, technological, and scientific domains, in education, sports, and tourism, conditions for various kinds of economic activities, including the mutual granting of the most-favored-nation status, the mutual boosting and protection of investments, and the setting up of joint ventures.

Speaking at a news conference of the possibilities offered by the treaty to the 33 thousand Moldovans living in Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev said that the document provided wide prospects for the signing of more conventions, so as to secure the preservation of the ethnic nature of the Moldovans living in Kazakhstan and of the Cossacks living in Moldova and the development of their culture.

About the situation in Moldova, including the Dniester issue, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur said that "the situation is more or less satisfactory," but that one could not speak yet of the settlement of all issues. He said that although slow, progress was marked toward a political settlement of the situation.

Leaders Stress Understanding, Reform

LD0511114592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1419 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] President Mircea Snegur of the Republic of Moldova has come to our town on a working visit. He had talks with Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, after which a bilateral treaty was signed on friendship and cooperation between the republics.

A news conference was held, at which they discussed the importance of the treaty and the restoration of political and economic ties. Our republics, Nazarbayev said, need each other. Our relations will be based on the principle of noninterference and mutual understanding, and on promoting expansion of mutually beneficial economic cooperation. Mircea Snegur stressed that Kazakhstan was moving forward with many reforms, and its experience was worthy of the most constant attention and application by Commonwealth countries, including Moldova.

National Unity Party Vows To End Crisis, Discord

LD0511102292 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 0251 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Members of the organizing committee for setting up a new political alliance, "National Unity of Kazakhstan," headed by People's Deputy Serik Abdrakhmanov, held a news conference today. They told journalists that the main aim of the new movement is to get Kazakhstan out of the state of crisis and to ensure interethnic accord—the main guarantee of democracy, economic reforms, and the triumph of law and right.

"We are setting up a parliamentary-style party," said Serik Abdrakhmanov. "And through it we intend to influence the republic's government and parliament. It is also planned to work out their own program for economic transformations. Anyone who holds dear the future of Kazakhstan and its prosperity can become a party member."

Kyrgyzstan

NATO Chief Links Central Asian Stability to European Needs

OW0511114492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1039 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The NATO secretary general Manfred Woerner has declared that his organization is interested in stability in Central Asia because it is related to stability in Europe. He told a news conference in Bishkek that NATO is ready to help overcome conflicts and critical situations in that part of the world and hopes that the crisis in Tajikistan will be resolved by peaceful means.

On the situation in Tajikistan he said that first of all conditions should be created for the beginning of talks between the conflicting sides. It is also important to prevent foreign interference and guarantee respect for the sovereignty of that country. The NATO leader spoke of the positive contribution of Russia to efforts to settle the situation in Tajikistan.

He believes that Kyrgyzstan has achieved much on the road of democratic reforms. He said it is a good example of a country where many ethnic and religious groups peacefully live side by side.

Among the spheres of possible cooperation between NATO and Kyrgyzstan Manfred Woerner named scientific programs, the development of the Kyrgyz military doctrine, consultations in conversion, the verification of arms control as well as assistance in education and training.

President Appoints New Chief in Dzhalal-Abad

OW0411215892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1801 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The former head of the state property fund, Abdyzhapar Tagayev, himself of local descent, was appointed new chief administrator of Dzhalal-Abad region on Tuesday following president Akayev's acceptance of the tender of resignation by ex-chief administrator Bekmamat Osmonov.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: There were big anti-government demonstrations in Dzhalal-Abad at the end of last month in support of demands to "end pressure" on the chief administrator. Osmonov himself tendered his resignation on Monday because of regional divide on his policies after he came in office, which he said "could have led to an acute political crisis". A government commission of inquiry into the administration's performance had revealed incidents of office abuse by Osmonov and his supporters. About 70% of top regional posts are held by Osmonov's relatives or proteges.

The dispute over the chief administrator's mishandling of regional policies has died down, with the situation in Dzhalal-Abad now going back to normal, head of the government department for regional administration Almaz Dzhakynov told IF. He said there was a general awareness of the need for regional peace and stability. Dzhakynov said there were no ulterior motives behind Osmonov's resignation describing the process as something in the order of the day.

Government Forecasts Economic Development in 1993

OW0511115992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1040 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Kyrgyzstan the Economy and Finance Ministry has predicted that the decline in production will be stopped in 1993 and production will grow by 4.5%, while the rate of inflation and monetary emission will run to 220%. The trade deficit is estimated at 55 billion rubles and the sum of necessary credits at 110 to 115 billion rubles. Profits in the economy might reach 33 billion rubles of which 10 billion will go to the budget. The figures were reported at a cabinet session on Wednesday.

Next year the ministry is planning to restructure the economy, primarily energy supplies.

The necessity of speeding up denationalization was stressed at the cabinet session. Services, trade and public catering will be fully denationalized, privatization will be expanded in agriculture. However, the ministry insisted on maintaining the level of military orders to munitions plants.

Tajikistan

Russia's Kozyrev Explains Mission; Meets Iskandarov

LD0511095992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0919 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Georgy Shmelev and Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 5 TASS—"We have come to Dushanbe with the intention of rendering all-out assistance to Tajikistan in the search for a political settlement of the conflict in that Central Asian republic," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told journalists upon his arrival in the Tajik capital on Wednesday evening [4 November].

Dushanbe is the second lap of his working visit to Central Asia. The Russian minister arrived here from Alma-Ata, where he attended, as President Yeltsin's personal envoy, a meeting of leaders from four Central Asian republics—Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

"We regard the Alma-Ata meeting and its decisions as an extremely important step towards the stopping of bloodshed in Tajikistan and reaching a political settlement of the problem," Kozyrev stressed. "I am sure that the Alma-Ata programme of concrete actions will contribute to the stabilisation of the socio-political situation in Tajikistan."

Later in the day Kozyrev met acting President of Tajikistan Akbarsho Iskandarov. The sides discussed the socio-political situation in the republic.

After the talks, Kozyrev left for a visit to Kulyab and Kurgan-Tyube regions in order to see for himself the situation in Tajikistan's "hot spots". He is accompanied by diplomats and military experts.

The Russian foreign minister plans to meet leaders of Kulyab region, military commanders and servicemen of the 149th Russian Motorised Infantry Regiment, deployed in Kulyab. Upon his return to Dushanbe, Kozyrev will meet representatives of the Russian-speaking population, commanders of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division and border guards. He will continue talks with acting President of Tajikistan Akbarsho Iskandarov and members of the government.

Premier To Discuss Economic, Political Issues in Tashkent

OW0511154892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1040 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The acting Tajik Prime-Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov is to discuss economic assistance to his country as well as political matters during his visit to Uzbekistan. He told IF [INTERFAX] before departure on Wednesday that Uzbekistan suspended the delivery of goods due to the complicated situation on the common border. This is the second visit of Mr. Abdullodzhanov to Tashkent of late.

Meanwhile, the press center of the Russian border force in Tajikistan reports that the railway bridge in Khanaka, Gissar region, was blasted on Wednesday. It was the only bridge in Tajikistan guaranteeing the delivery of goods from Uzbekistan to Dushanbe by rail.

President Appoints New Interior Minister

LD0511104292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1012 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By "Khovar"-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe, 5 Nov—By decree of acting Tajik President Akbarsho Iskandarov, a new republican interior minister has been appointed. Guldastsho Imronshoyev has been appointed to the post; earlier he held the post of deputy interior minister.

By the same decree, Mamadayez Navzhuvanov has been relieved of the ministerial post in connection with his transition to another job.

Presidential Aide Urges Reliance on Military Force

OW0411223592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1802 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nothing short of a strong government leaning upon military force can become a guarantor of stability in Tajikistan, the chief aide to the country's acting president, Davlat Khudonazarov said in an exclusive interview with IF [INTERFAX]. He says the country will be in the face of a breakdown and massive exodus unless a central government is set up, law enforcement bodies strengthened and the conflict brought to an end.

If not, the aide said, more than one and a half million people or half of the population may leave the republic.

Khudonazarov who was one of the contenders for the country's presidency said the threat of Tajikistan's loss of statehood was now looming large over the country. He said that once partitioned, separate regions of the country would try to seek patronage from neighbouring countries, though ruling out the possibility of involvement by Afghanistan, Iran or Pakistan at this stage.

Khudonazarov believes stronger ties with Russia must remain a priority direction of the country's foreign policy. As he put it, although Russia refrains from supporting any of the warring sides, it cannot remain "indifferent" to what's happening in Tajikistan. In the meantime, he said, there is growing realisation in Russia that the incumbent government in Dushanbe is most interested in a negotiated settlement to the conflict. If any Russian help is forthcoming, he said, it will be used only in peaceful purposes.

Khudonazarov sets great store by the coming visit to Dushanbe by Russia's foreign minister Andrey Kozyrev "who is well-informed by following events in Tajikistan".

On yesterday's talks between the Tajik and Russian presidents in Moscow, Khudonazarov said the main aim of president Iskandarov's visit to the Russian capital was to try to negotiate the status of Russia's 201th motorised division deployed in Tajikistan.

He said Iskandarov had proposed to the Russian government for the said division to be put under dual jurisdication of Russia and Tajikistan, a model which he said had already been tested in Turkmenistan. Khudonazarov believes the Tajik government and the division command have somewhat narrowed positions on this issue.

IF Note: He may have implied the agreement that the national security committee, the interior ministry and Russian commanders reached on Monday night to conduct joint patrolling of Dushanbe streets while curfew is in force.

Khudonazarov says that if Kulyab rebels try again to seize the city, they will be repulsed by Russia's 201th division.

On Tajikistan's plans for the use of Russian troops in the event of dual jurisdiction, Khudonazarov said their main function would be "not only to defend the city but also to protect it from looters, bandits and other criminal elements" adding that the issue was being discussed by the Tajik authorities.

On the renewed postponement of the parliamentary session which was due on Thursday, the presidential aide says it is known beforehand there will be insufficient attendance. He does not think that there is any use in negotiations between parties, movements, minority groups and the leaders of the warring factions unless all sides are committed to seek peace.

Defense Ministry Counts on Russian Division To Stop Bloodshed

OW0511152692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1432 GMT 05 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the opinion of Tajikistan's first deputy defense minister, Abusamad Samiyev, the armed conflict in the republic could only be put out with the help of the Russian 201st division stationed there. "This becomes our only chance after the parliament of Kyrgyzstan refused to ratify the agreement regarding the introduction into Tajikistan of Kyrgyz peacekeeping forces," he said in an interview for INTERFAX Thursday.

Mr Samiyev maintains that the Russian 201st division will need to have dual subordination: to Russia and to the Tajik government. In his words, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has already acquiesced in the request by the Tajik government.

The Tajik deputy minister maintains that the peacekeeping efforts of the 201st division will not produce any friction with the local population because it is manned predominantly by Tajik national (90 percent). "The people, the government and even the oppositional forces approve this move," Mr Samiyev said.

Kulyab Officials Send Message to Central Asian Summit

OW0511010092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1708 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kulyab officials in southern Tajikistan say the present government is not entitled to speak on behalf of the population in inviting foreign troops to resolve the regional conflict. Their message to the presidents of Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan and Russia says the present government ousting its democratically-elected predecessor will never be able to bring peace to long-suffering Tajikistan because of lacking a power base and expressing the interests of opposition forces represented by Islamic fundamentalists and their associates.

Russian Troops Seize Weapons; Colonel Explains Tasks

LD0411155892 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1507 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 4 TASS—Nine submachine guns, two pistols and several smoke-puff charges were confiscated in the night from Tuesday to Wednesday from representatives of various armed groups by members of the armoured groups of the 201st Russian Motorised Rifle Division, which, in accordance with the decision of the Tajikistan leadership, assumed the task of ensuring the legal regime of the curfew in Tajikistan's capital. As was already reported, the curfew was introduced in Dushanbe on October 23 as the situation in the city deteriorated sharply.

"The functions of Russian troops are limited to the ensurance of the population's safety in Dushanbe. Commanders of the division found it expedient to continue protecting the approaches to the Tajik capital from possible invasions by some or other groups in order to avoid accusations of supporting one of the conflicting sides", said Lieutenant-Colonel Anatoly Ivlev, one of the officers of the division's staff. "We do not disarm unlawful units. Our powers are limited by the curfew during which we check cars, control densely populated housing areas and zones of enhanced danger. Our functions also include localising armed conflicts between separate groups. As is known, there are up to 10 kinds of groups that have both political colouring and that are not subordinated to anyone", he said.

Ivlev said that although the population has a positive attitude to the participation of the units in patrols, the command regards it as an enforced and temporary measure and has no intention of risking the life of servicemen. The hope was expressed that leaders of the republics will cope with their own problems by peaceful civilized means.

Situation in South Deteriorates as Kulyab Forces Move In

LD0511114192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1107 GMT 5 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 5 TASS—The situation in south Tajikistan has gravely deteriorated again. According to military sources, Kulyab home guards today occupied the "Turkmenistan" state farm in Vakhsh district, captured the Kolkhozabadsky district and are tightening the encirclement of Kumsangirsky district, where the regional Council of People's Deputies is temporarily based. The fate of its chairman Kadriddin Aslonov, taken hostage a few days ago by Kulyab home guards, is still unknown.

According to different sources, the force led by Sangak Safarov, leader of the Kulyab resistance movement, numbers from 5 to 10 thousand men, most of whom are Afghan war veterans. Sangak's immediate goals are unknown, but some people still remember his interview with an Italian newspaper, when he said his end goal was to "enter Dushanbe and raise the red banner over the highest peak of the Pamir range".

Decree Establishes Television, Radio Committee

LD0511093092 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0100 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Decree on dissolving the state television and radio company issued by Acting President Iskandarov; place, date not given]

[Text] Taking into consideration the fact that the work of the state television and radio company of the Republic of

Tajikistan has not met the demands of the times and does not (?contribute to) the stabilization of the socio-political situation in the republic, I hereby, with the aim of [word indistinct] of the leadership of the television and radio, decree:

1. That the state television and radio company of the Republic of Tajikistan be dissolved and the State Committee for Television and Radio of the Republic of Tajikistan be set up;

2. That this issue be put to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan for examination;

3. That the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan formulate and implement the rules of the State Committee for Television and Radio of the Republic of Tajikistan.

[Signed] Akbarsho Ikandarov, acting president of the Republic of Tajikistan

Communist Party Addresses Working People on GOSR

LD0411193992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1214 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By KHOVAR correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe November 4 TASS—The Presidium of the Central Committee of Tajikistan's Communist Party made public on Wednesday its address to all the working people in Tajikistan in connection with the 75th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR].

"Another anniversary of the October revolution is being observed in an extremely difficult situation. The economic decline continues. The economy is on the verge of collapse. All the social guarantees are being eroded. Corruption and crime are on the rise. The ideas of the October revolution due to which the TAjik people has been able to restore its national statehood lost a millenium ago are being desecrated. It is attempted to take social gains from the people. They can have instead unemployment, poverty, plunder, fratricide, interethnic conflicts", the address says.

The Presidium of the Central Committee of Tajikistan's Communist Party urged those who treasure Tajikistan's independence and sovereignty to end a fratricidal war in which Tajiks may cease to exist as a nation. The communists also urged veterans of the party, war veterans and veteran workers to hold rallies and assemblies in the run-up to the anniversary, to declare for an early achievement of peace and accord, for the right of every person to labour, freedom and dignified life.

Turkmenistan

Minister Says Government Will Stick to Neutral Policy

OW0411225692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1803 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Turkmenistan will continue to stick to its policy of neutrality and non-involvement, the country's foreign minister, Khalykberdi Atayev, told IF [INTERFAX] outlining his government's position on the armed conflict in Tajikistan. Regardless of how good one's intentions can be, they can only lead to negative results, he said adding that this was his country's stand which he described as correct.

As an example, the minister pointed to a mixed reaction in Tajikistan to the presence of Russian troops there and the public protest in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan caused by proposals for sending peacekeepers to the region.

However, Atayev described as a good attempt the recent meeting between Kazakh representatives and leaders of the warring factions to try to clarify the causes of the conflict.

Turkmenistan believes that the UN and CSCE rather than the CIS must step up effort to resolve the regional conflict. The minister says any reference to CIS potentials has been unjustified given that the entity which lacks even its own charter is yet to be formed and can hardly be helpful.

He did not rule out the possibility of launching some kind of peace initiative, such as a joint call for greater UN role in solving the regional conflict during his forthcoming meeting with Russia's foreign minister Andrey Kozyrev.

The minister put the number of refugees from Tajikistan hosted by his country (mainly ethnic Turkmenians) at about 30,000. All of them were provided with jobs and housing.

Atayev was undecided about the number of ethnic Turkmenians living in Tajikistan, though he was told by members of the Turkmenian community during a recent visit to the region that they stayed away from the regional conflict. Nor do the warring factions attack Turkmenian residents. However, the minister said the community was fearful of heightening tension all the same and if the remaining Turkmenians expressed a desire to leave, they would be accepted by Turkmenistan.

Armenia

President Continues Government Reshuffle; Appoints Envoy to U.S.

OW0411214292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 4 Nov 92

[From "Presidential Bulletin" prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday President Levon Ter-Petrosyan signed a decree to dismiss the Minister of State for science, culture and education Grigor Areshyan "following his transfer to another job". Local observers pointed out in this connection that it was Areshyan who led the governmental delegation at the talks with Russia on bilateral economic and political cooperation.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: Last week another minister of state (a post equivalent to deputy premiership), Ruben Chiftalaryan, was relieved of his duties. Earlier Armenia's Foreign Minister Raffi Hovannisian resigned "at the President's request", while Defence Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan was transferred to the job of the President's adviser on military affairs. Armenia's former Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan was appointed as Acting Defence Minister.

Ter-Petrosyan's aides view G. Areshyan's dismissal as part of the efforts to reorganize executive authorities under way in the republic. According to them, this case reflects a simple reshuffling in the highest government structures, since, as IF learned from the President's press service, Areshyan is to be given the job of Armenia's Ambassador to the USA.

Shugaryan Sees 'Mutual Understanding' in Clinton Administration

NC0411171492 Yerevan SNARK in English 1454 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Yerevan, November 4 (SNARK)—Ruben Shugaryan, press- secretary of the Armenian president has said today at his briefing that Governor Bill Clinton's victory at the presidential elections mean further U.S. support of the Russian democratic forces, economic reforms. It will bring to the stabilization of the situation existed in Russia. Shugaryan is of the opinion that new points of correlation and mutual understanding can be found with the new U.S. Administration. It will influence the economic and political situation in Armenia.

Karabakh 'Applauds' Clinton Victory

NC0411171692 Yerevan SNARK in English 1454 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Stepanakert, November 4 (SNARK)—Marsel Petrosyan, head of the Karabakh State Department of Press and Information, has informed SNARK's reporter Nagorno-Karabakh applauds the victory of Bill Clinton at the presidential elections. He has mentioned that all hopes of the Karabakh population are closely connected with victory of democratic forces. "I hope that the new U.S. Administration will continue good traditions of the USA in supporting democratic reforms, defending human rights in any country of the world," mentioned Marsel Petrosyan.

Defense Minister To Press for Martial Law

PM0411172192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 92 p 2

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Telegraph Line" rubric: "What Awaits Armenia?"]

[Text] "Despite the fact that the tension on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border has somewhat lifted with the arrival of Russian Defense Ministry observers, I will press in parliament for martial law to be introduced in some areas," Armenian Acting Defense Minister Vazgen Manukyan has stated.

Parliament To Debate EC Agreement in Extraordinary Session

NC0511073392 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1830 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Report by Stepan Marukyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 4 November—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Marukyan] Although important topics were to be discussed at the parliament's last session for this week, the deliberations were not very productive. Supreme Soviet First Deputy Chairman Ara Saakyan tried to present an agenda, but because the deputies wanted to discuss other problems, it was not possible to examine these items. [passage omitted]

Following a forced recess due to the lack of a quorum, Tigran Sargsyan, chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Commission on Finance and Budget, presented the bill on Armenia's membership in the European Reconstruction and Development Bank. [passage omitted]

The bill was adopted with 132 votes in favor.

The parliament then debated ratification of the agreement between Armenia and the European Community on allocating credits to Armenia. State Minister Gagik Shahbazyan put the agreement to a vote. He spoke on efforts leading to the signing of the credit agreement, difficulties involved in securing the agreement, and on the interest rates. After the main recess, Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan delivered a report on this issue. He noted in particular:

[Arutyunyan] [passage omitted] As regards the credit issue, let me say this. We have no realistic chance of obtaining any other credit to purchase such an amount of grain from any other organization or state. The talks on this credit started on 18 December last year and just now the agreement is going into effect. That is, even if any state declares today that it is going to provide credits for grain purchases, it will takes months for this promise to materialize. Therefore, [words indistinct] if we reject this credit, we will not be able to sign any agreement for the next two or three months to obtain additional grain for Armenia. Therefore, I repeat that this credit agreement should be ratified. I request that the deputies approach this matter seriously and vote to ratify this agreement.

[Marukyan] Following Arutyunyan's speech and his replies to the deputies' questions, an exchange of views took place for and against ratifying the agreement. Because there was no time left to continue the session, the Supreme Soviet Presidium met to decide if an extraordinary session should be convened today or tomorrow. The Presidium decided to hold the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet tomorrow at 1300.

Azerbaijan

Defense Minister Wants To Impose State of Emergency

NC0511100792 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0702 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Text] Baku 5.11.92 (ASSA-IRADA)—To suspend the activities of political parties in Azerbaijan before the end of war in Karabakh, to establish the law of war-time and introduce a serious censorship of mass media, that's the call Azeri Defense Minister Rakhim Gaziyev addressed to Milli Mejlis (parliament). The minister explains necessity of such extreme measures by the fact that Azerbaijan is in war today, with part of the republic's territory being occupied by Armenia and increasing sabotage and espionage.

In his response speech the opposition leader Etibar Mamedov said: "The war in Karabakh has not been yet declared by Azerbaijan and Armenia, the rules of wartime and state of emergency have not yet been worked out. First we should declare war or introduce martial law, and only after that we can provisionally suspend the activities of political parties and introduce censorship", ASSA-IRADA reports from the parliament.

Aliyev: Nakhichevan Conflict To Be Resolved 'Soon'

NC0411181492 Baku TURAN in English 0511 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Baku, 3 Nov (TURAN)—The conflict between Baku and Nachichevan, caused by the appointment for the post of the Nakhichevan interior minister, seems to be settled soon.

During the telephone conversation, chairman of the Nachichevani Supreme Mejlis Geydar Aliyev said to the TURAN correspondent that assignment of Takhir Allakhyarov as the interior minister of Nakhichevan had been co-ordinated with the Interior Minister of Azerbaijan Iskender Gamidov.

G. Aliyev has flatly denied the accusations of the People's Front running that the ex-communists were controlling the autonomous republic of Nakhichevan and said that he had dropped out of the Communist Party, one of his deputies had never entered any political block and three other deputies of the chairman are the members of the People's Front.

G. Aliyev said that the supreme Mejlis of Nakhichevan appealed to the Parliament of Azerbaijan to consider and to give political assessment of the Nackhchevani events of 24-26 October.

As it is known, earlier, the Nachichevani Supreme Majlis has classified these events as an attempt of the state coup.

Baku, Moldova Agree To Trade Energy for Food

NC0411163392 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1158 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Baku, 4 November (ASSA-IRADA)—Azerbaijan and Moldova begin mutual shipments not waiting for the next year, the Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Abbas Abbasov told ASSA-IRADA's reporter after returning from Chisinau. An agreement for 1993 was signed in Baku recently, but taking into consideration the condition the economies of both countries are in, the 2 governments decided to take the first steps in this direction right now. In return for energy from Azerbaijan Moldova guarantees the shipment of 4000 tons of meat and 500 tons of butter before the end of this year. Besides that Moldova delivers 4000 head of cattle to Azerbaijan to revive and restore the cattle farming in provinces suffered from Armenian aggression.

Foreign Minister To Visit Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE

NC0411180692 Baku AZERINFORM in Azeri 1316 GMT 2 Nov 92

[Text] Baku, 2 Nov (AZERINFORM)—In the next few days, Azerbaijani Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov will begin an official tour of the following Middle Eastern countries: Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates [UAE].

The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry Press Service informed the AZERINFORM correspondent that the aim of the visit is to sign documents on cooperation in various fields, and joint statements on the Karabakh problem.

President's Council Meets To Discuss Economic Situation

NC0411181992 Baku TURAN in English 0511 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Baku, 3 Nov (TURAN)—The Economic Council under the president of Azerbaijan have already held two of its sessions in Baku.

The Council is a consultative-recommendation body, responsible for working out and implementation of the package of economic reforms and also for speeding up of the process of the transition to market economy.

The Council has a right to demand from the enterprises, organizations and state bodies, registered on the territory of Azerbaijan, the information about their business operations.

The Council's staff have been appointed by the president himself. Members of the Council may work as permanent or as part-staff employees. The Council may also enlist the services of foreign experts and specialists.

The Council will operate under the direct leadership of the president of Azerbaijan.

Procurator General Starts Criminal Proceedings Against Mutalibov

LD0411203692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 4 Nov 92

[from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The procurator general of Azerbaijan has started criminal proceedings against former republican president Mutalibov following his attempt to seize power in May. The Procuracy has asked the Ministry of Internal Affairs to grant permission to arrest Mutalibov and hold him in custody until the case is heard.

Georgia

Government Resigns at Opening of Legislative Session

OW0411200192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1927 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua announced during his speech to the first session of the republic's new parliament on Wednesday that his whole government was resigning.

After taking this announcement into consideartion, the parliamentary deputies requested the government to carry out its duties further until a new government was formed.

After confirming the session's agenda, the parliamentarians agreed to discuss the draft law on state authority which was designed to regulate parliament's legislative rights and the functioning of the republic's state bodies until the new Georgian Constitution is passed.

Parliament Discusses Draft State Power Law

LD0411215192 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2144 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi November 4 TASS—The first day's work of the new parliament of Georgia began with discussion on the draft state power law, a document, regulating lawframing activities of parliament and functioning of state structures until the adoption of a new constitution of Georgia.

The house took note of the government of Georgia's resignation. The government has been asked to continue to work until the formation of a new cabinet.

Draft Law To Give 'Unlimited Powers' To Shevardnadze

OW0511115592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1039 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [4 November] the parliamentary debate on the draft law on government began in Georgia. The law would give practically unlimited powers to the chairman of parliament, now Eduard Shevardnadze.

The leader of the National Independence Party Irakly Tsereteli said that the draft contradicts the 1921 Georgian constitution restored last February by the Georgian Military Council. He felt this breaks the continuity which is impermissible.

The leader of the Union of Georgian Traditionalists, the parliamentary speaker under Gamsakhurdia Akaki Asatiani submitted an alternative draft which he thinks does not contradict the 1921 constitution.

Meanwhile, one of the makers of the official draft Tedo Ninidze has declared that it is impossible to restore the 1921 constitution today, because the situation has changed considerably.

Analysts believe that despite the resistance from several deputies, in the present circumstances the majority is ready to surrender power to Eduard Shevardnadze.

Shevardnadze: Country's Biggest Task To Form 'United Army'

OW0411192792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1708 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Georgian parliament Eduard Shevardnadze said that the main problem facing Georgia today is that of ending the war. But the war should be ended worthily and in accordance with Georgia's state interests," Shevardnadze said during the first session of the Georgian parliament, Wednesday. [no open quotation marks as received] In view of this, Georgia's top-priority task is to form a united army, he said.

Speaking about the need in social guarantees for the population during the transition to market relations Shevardnadze said that prices on bread and other products will be increased, but wages and salaries will be raised, too.

Georgia's relations with Russia represent the priority area, he said speaking about Georgia's foreign policy. "I can't say there is any vagueness in our relations with Russia," he said. He also expressed the opinion that the question of signing a comprehensive Russian-Georgian treaty should be discussed with Moscow soon.

Commenting on the results of the presidential elections in the U.S., Eduard Shevardnadze expressed hope that following the democrats' coming to power, relations between the U.S. and Georgia will broaden even further.

Shevardnadze Seeks 24-Hour Wait on Seized Russian Munitions

PM0411170792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Viktor Litovkin report: "Ammunition in Akhaltsikhe Seized on Kitovani's Orders"]

[Text] The situation concerning the Russian Army's munitions dumps in the city of Akhaltsikhe, which were seized by Georgian armed subunits in the night of Sunday-Monday, remains tense. As Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani, speaking on republic television, stated, the seizure of the dumps was carried out on his orders. "We will not allow weapons which by right belong to us to be removed from Georgia," he said. Kitovani called on the population to rise up in defense of the Georgian subunits at present guarding the dumps against a possible attack by Russian troops with a view to liberating the arsenal.

Thus Kitovani has publicly admitted that he has acted against the will of Georgian parliament leader Eduard Shevardnadze, who condemned the seizure of the Russian military depots, calling it an extremely dangerous provocation.

Meanwhile, a Russian-Georgian mixed commission, which is to establish the amount stolen and hand over all the property to its rightful owner, is continuing its work in Akhaltsikhe. It is headed on the Georgian side by Major General Ramiz Tosurashvili, republic deputy minister of internal affairs, and on the Russian side by Colonel Petr Dyachenko, Transcaucasus Military District chief of staff for armaments [title as published].

In the morning of 4 November Lieutenant General Aleksandr Gerasimov, first deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, informed IZVESTIYA by telephone that, according to the commission members' report, it was ammunition for firearms that was removed from the Akhaltsikhe depots. The Georgian Ministry of Defense has not yet given the order to its armed subunits to lift the blockade of the depots and has not removed its guards.

At the same time, in a conversation with district commander Lieutenant General Fedor Reut (on 3 November we wrongly called him deputy commander), Eduard Shevardnadze gave assurances that the situation concerning the depots would be resolved within 24 hours. He asked that no action be undertaken that might complicate the situation or disrupt the start of work of the Georgian parliament, which is what the people who organized the provocation involving the seizure of Russian property were probably counting on.

According to reports at the editorial office's disposal, the Russian servicemen have promised to wait for 24 hours, but are continuing to insist on the return of everything that was stolen.

General Says Conflict Over Ammunition Dumps Ended

PM0411155992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Besik Urigashvili report: "Seizure of Military Dumps: Provocation Or Abortive Deal?"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The dramatic events involving the Russian Army artillery dumps in the city of Akhaltsikhe in southern Georgia seem close to a solution. At any rate a joint commission has been set up comprising representatives of the Georgian Ministry of Defense and the Transcaucasus Military District to put an end to this conflict.

During a meeting between Lieutenant General Beppayev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, and Shevardnadze, in the course of which the head of the Georgian parliament condemned what had happened and assured the Russian general that he would straighten out the conflict, it became known that the munitions dumps would be sealed and handed over to the Russian Army.

At the same time the situation in Tbilisi also worsened. Four Georgian Army battalions led by General G. Karkarashvili occupied Air Army dumps containing uniforms and medicine. Karkarashvili said that this action was necessitated by a desire to keep what remained at these dumps for the Georgian Army! "We know quite precisely that almost everything from here has been sold off and squandered," G. Karkarashvili said.

Officers from the Transcaucasus Military District staff arriving at the dumps asked the Georgian military to vacate the area by 1700 hours. Otherwise they threatened to use weapons and heavy arms. Karkarashvili categorically refused to meet this demand and urged the Georgian population to block the access routes to the area and prevent the Russian troops using weapons.

The tension was somewhat eased by a television statement from Gen. Beppayev, saying that there can be no question of any ultimatum and that everything that is happening is the result of a misunderstanding.

"We do not want to spoil our relations with the Georgian leadership, Georgia is, after all, the only republic in the Transcaucasus where the military feel fairly calm," Beppayev said. "I think that we will be able to agree on everything. I think that the conflict is over," the Russian general stressed.

It did indeed prove possible to reach agreement. It was agreed that the dumps containing uniforms would be handed over to the Georgian Army. As for the munitions, the commission will decide their fate. But, according to leaked information, a practical solution has also been found on this matter. In all probability the missiles will be handed back to the Russian Army and the artillery shells will go to the Georgian Army.

At the same time sources close to Georgian Government circles claim that the conflict was organized by the Georgian Ministry of Defense, but the Georgian leader knew nothing about the matter. You get the impression that some forces in the Georgian military department benefit from destabilizing the situation on the eve of the first parliament session, where the question of the new government will be decided, among others.

But perhaps the incident was provoked as a result of an abortive deal between the Georgian and Russian military. Everyone in Tbilisi is aware that this often happened before. They have misfired too. As it happened in the city of Gori when the deal was wrecked and ended in a skirmish on a Russian Army tank unit's territory. That resulted in Russian and Georgian casualties. This time it seems that everything has turned out quite peacefully.

Meanwhile the situation in Sukhumi has deteriorated in the extreme. During the night of 2-3 November the city came under artillery bombardment and on the morning of 3 November, when this report was being written, fighting was under way near the village of Shroma several kilometers to the northeast of Sukhumi.

Minister for Abkhazia Protests Russian Firing

OW0411211892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1927 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian State Minister for Abkhazian Affairs Georgiy Khaindrava has lodged a protest in connection with Russian Army detachments which fired on Georgian positions in Abkhazia. In a statement released on Wednesday, Khaindrava said that these actions were being considered to be "direct aggression by Russian forces against units of the Georgian Army."

According to the announcement, on 2 November, Russian detachments opened fire on Georgian positions near biological laboratories in Sukhumi. On the next day, an airplane of the Russian Air Force bombarded Georgian artillery positions. The document confirms that the Georgians have documented evidence of the participation of Russian soldiers in operations against Georgians, as well as of large-scale transfers of money to "Abkhazian separatists."

The announcement includes an expression of hope that such actions, undertaken under the command of "a group of commanding officers," were not approved by the Russian leadership; the announcement also appealed to Russia to "restrain" soldiers of the Russian Army in Abkhazia who have "gotten out of control." Meanwhile, according to information from the Russian Ministry of Defense, the firing on Georgian positions in Abkhazia was opened in response to Russian soldiers around Sukhumi being fired upon.

Troops Rebuff Abkhazian Offensive

LD0411144692 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT 4 Nov 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Sukhumi November 4 TASS—The Abkhazian capital of Sukhumi and adjacent areas remain under Georgia's control. Sporadic fighting involving artillery guns continues near the river Gumista, according to reports from Sukhumi.

Abkhazian and North Caucasian forces fired on Georgian positions near the village of Akhalsheni in the Sukhumi district on Tuesday and tried to launch an offensive, the press centre of the Georgian military command in Sukhumi told ITAR-TASS.

The press centre said Georgian troops rebuffed the offensive, inflicting heavy losses on Abkhazians in manpower and military hardware.

Reports say electricity and water supplies have been cut off in the city for three days. Autonomous power plants are supplying electricity only to the local bakery, hospitals and some other vital facilities.

Abkhaz Leader Still Believes in Talks To Resolve Dispute

OW0511045592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1927 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Speaker of the Abkhazian parliament, Vladislav Ardzinba, says he still believes that the dispute between Georgia and Abkhazia can be resolved through talks. Speaking during a meeting in Gudauta with a mission of the UN-unrepresentated nations, he said that for this to happen, Georgia must show a gesture of goodwill and withdraw its troops from the region immediately.

Ardzinba said none of the Georgian leaders had any longer denied that the real aim of Georgian aggression on Abkhazia was "to dismantle its statehood and create a mono-ethnic Georgian state".

In this connection, the Abkhazian leader expressed regret that the UN had sided up with Georgia.

Estonia

Prime Minister Congratulates President-Elect Clinton

WS0511131792 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1736 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Tallinn, 4 November 1992—Estonia's Prime Minister Mart Laar sent a telegram to Democrat Bill Clinton congratulating him upon winning the White House, the press office of the Estonian Foreign Ministry informed ETA.

The U.S. has served as an example to Estonia in its struggle for independence and democracy, the telegram reads. Estonia will not feel completely free until foreign forces stationed in the country have left, he wrote.

Estonia's Premier expressed hope that Bill Clinton, as the next President of the United States, will support Russia's democratic forces and President Boris Yeltsin and help Estonia achieve "speedy, orderly and complete troop pullout", the telegram reads.

President, Churkin Discuss Troop Withdrawal, Russian Community

WS0411131692 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1824 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] Tallinn, November 3—Estonia's President Lennart Meri met Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin on Tuesday [3 November] to discuss President Yeltsin's resolution on October 29 suspending troop pullout from the Baltics.

Churkin told Meri that Yeltsin's resolution was triggered by Russia's critical domestic situation and was focused at the country's domestic policy. Russia will keep the timetable of troop pullout and will not present any ultimatums to Estonia, Churkin said.

Meri and Churkin also discussed problems of Estonia's Russian-speaking community at the meeting that lasted 50 minutes longer than planned. Meri assured Churkin that Estonia's constitution guarantees human rights to all people residing in the country.

Foreign Minister, Churkin Discuss Bilateral Issues, Nuclear Plant

WS0411131292 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1824 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] Tallinn, November 3—Estonia's Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste met Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister, Vitaliy Churkin, the press office of the Foreign Ministry informed ETA.

Velliste and Churkin discussed Russia's standpoints concerning the problems of granting Estonian citizenship to members of the country's Russian community and troop pullout from the Baltics.

Churkin stressed that Russia is not going to link troop pullout to the situation of human rights in Estonia. Churkin also stressed that international aid in building housing for Russian officers and their families will undoubtedly speed up the troop pullout.

Churkin and Velliste also discussed dismantling the Russian nuclear reactor in the Estonian town of Paldiski.

Prime Minister Forbids Discussion of Ousting Russian-Speakers

LD0411191792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1212 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Tallinn November 4 - ETA-TASS—"There can be no talk about ousting Russian speakers from the country", Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar said in a television interview on Tuesday night.

Social, economic and cultural rights of people, who are not Estonian nationals will be fully observed, the prime minister told televiewers. In addition, there are many people among non-Estonians who have the right to citizenship but do not identify themselves as Estonian citizens, he said. Laar said the Russian-language press should give more extensive coverage to the problem.

As concerns requirements to master the Estonian language, no arbitrariness is permissible, he said. People who are required to take an examination should be informed about these requirements depending on the specialist category to which they belong.

Premier Forms Commission To Study Russian-Populated Region

WS0411131092 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1824 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] Tallinn, November 3—Estonia's Prime Minister Mart Laar signed a resolution on Tuesday [3 November] to form a special commission in an effort to solve problems of the country's highly industrial and mainly Russian populated northeast region.

The commission, headed by Andres Tarand, the Minister of the Environment, and including the country's Minister of Social Affairs, Marju Lauristin, the Minister of Industry and Energy, Arvo Nittenberg and Lagle Parek, the Minister of the Interior, is commissioned to find ways to attract foreign investment to the region and privatise the large state-owned enterprises giving work to a large part of local population.

Laar said that at his meeting with Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt on October 27, possibilities of Swedish investments to the region were discussed. The prospective opening of Swedish consular representation in the region's largest town, Narva, to co-ordinate foreign capital movement to the region was also discussed.

Bildt stressed that declarations on possible unrest in Narva scare off foreign investors, according to Laar.

"Political declarations do not help to solve economic and social problems," Laar said.

President To Visit Narva

OW0511123692 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1125 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Lennart Meri is to visit Narva, a city in the north-east of Estonia with a predominantly Russian-speaking population. The understanding was reached during a Wednesday telephone conversation between the president and the chairman of the Narva city council Vladimir Chuikin. The city council is to work out and send to the president for approval the program of his stay in Narva.

According to Mr. Chuikin, the president assured him that he aware of Narva's socio-economic problems and is determined to promote their solution. The local leader described this as a good beginning.

Commander Says Troop Withdrawal Cannot Be Interrupted

OW0411235092 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1723 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia was already in full swing and could not be interrupted, according to a statement made to the Estonian telegraph agency by Major-General Ziyautdin Abdurakhmanov who is in command of the Russian units stationed in the republic.

In Abdurakhmanov's opinion, the Russian president's order to suspend the withdrawal could be applied only to the families of the servicemen, whose re-location to Russia was certainly fraught with great difficulties.

Government Session Forms Commissions, Discusses Decrees

WS0411131892 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1002 GMT 3 Nov 92

[From 3 November RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES, p 1]

[Text] Tuesday, November 3—Estonian government formed the energy commission (headed by Arvo Niitenberg), property reform commission and municipal housing privatisation commission at its yesterday's session, listened the reports of State Auditing Office, Customs Department and Agriculture Minister, discussed a trade agreement with the Ukraine and the takeover of property from the Russian Hydrography Service and appointed representatives for negotiations with the trade unions. Organizing committee for the 75th anniversary of the Republic of Estonia was also formed. The government approved a decree on the development of tourism. The government discussed the recent decree of the Russian President on stopping the troops withdrawal but declined from making an official statement as the President, the Premier and the Foreign Minister have already expressed their views. Premier Laar described the presidential decree as "a result of political struggle inside Russia" and expressed his doubts about it having any practical results. Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste commented the recent statement of Russian Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov on the intent of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies to approve the present Estonian-Russian administrative border as official state border. This problem can be solved only according to the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty, Velliste stressed. "According to the international law state borders are determined by interstate treaties and the only existing treaty is the 1920 peace treaty," Velliste said.

Government ordered Reform Minister Liia Hanni and Finance and Justice Ministries to present within two weeks propositions on obeying the decision of Tallinn City Court declaring the privatisation of "Talleks" factory invalid. The "Talleks" affair has damaged Estonia's reputation and may discourage foreign investments, Justice Minister Kaido Kama said. He regretted that while the invalidated deal included no criminal intent numerous illegal privatisations remain unpunished.

Transport and Communications Minister Ando Meister was authorized to take over the property of the Russian Hydrography Service. The upkeep of the Hydrography Service will cost 60-70 million kroons per year, State Secretary Ulo Kaevats said. Estonian import exceeds export after the customs statistics included electricity and natural gas, Director General of the Customs Department Mati Jurgens said. Estonia imported for 641.3 million kroons and exported goods for 606.9 million in September, Jurgens announced. Government allowed to continue the timber export through Parnu harbour, which was stopped by Tiit Vahi's government. A chauffeur-driven Mercedes-Benz will remain in the use of former President Arnold Ruutel for one year, according to the government decision.

Government sessions are to take place on Tuesdays in the future.

Latvia

Gorbunovs Hopes for Continued Development of U.S. Ties

LD0411232392 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2100 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] On 4 November Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, sent a telegram of congratulations to Bill Clinton on his election as U.S. president.

It says: In the name of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia and the Latvian people, I wish to send you our most sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the United States. We hope that relations between America and the Republic of Latvia will continue to develop in even deeper understanding and friendship between our peoples, based on our common belief in democracy and individual freedom. We have high regard for the American school of democratic traditions and look forward to the same understanding and cooperation. Please accept our good wishes for success in assuming the presidency.

The telegram of congratulations is signed by Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia.

Gorbunovs Urges Yeltsin To Reconsider Suspension of Withdrawal

OW0511121592 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1125 GMT 5 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The head of the Latvian parliament Anatolijs Gorbunovs has urged President Boris Yeltsin to revise his decision on the suspension of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Baltic countries. He sent an appropriate letter to the Russian leader on Wednesday [4 November].

He disagrees with the point in Yeltsin's decree that Latvia should be responsible for the solution of the social problems of the Russian soldiers and officers pulled out from the country. He says this contradicts the principles of the Helsinki declaration of July 10, 1992.

The Latvian leader also describes as groundless the attempt to link the solution of these problems with the implementation of economic agreements between the two countries. The letter indicates that such an approach can only worsen the position of Russian troops in Latvia. The linkage of the observation of human rights with the withdrawal of troops is unacceptable.

The chairman of the Latvian parliament says that he informed the UN leader Dr. Butrus-Ghali about the latest complications in relations between the two countries.

Parliament Adopts Defense, Internal Affairs Bills

LD0411224992 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1830 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] At their third reading, two bills presented by the Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs were adopted on the state defense and the defense forces. The bill closely linked with these on a state of emergency will be submitted for a third reading. As explained by Juris Dobelis, representative of the commission on Defense and Internal Affairs, the adoption of this law will usher in a certain stability, as it is a step toward coordination of activities of all defense structures in the republic. The law regulates all structural units of the national defense forces, their composition, legal basis, main functions, mutual cooperation, and relations with state institutions of power; the laws also formulate the principles of recruiting for the defense forces, service ranks, and arrangements for military training, in addition to establishing social guarantees of rights for soldiers on active service as well as responsibilities for nonobservance of the law.

Ministry of Finance Official Describes State Budget

WS0511131292 Riga LETA in English 1953 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Riga, November 4 (LETA)—By November 1 the national budget of Latvia has received 65 per cent of the means intended for the second half of 1992, which in fact is a normal situation. The situation has improved thanks to the payments of profit tax and timely repayment of the loan granted to agrarians in the summer, which amounted to 600 million rubles.

This information was released on Tuesday [3 November] during a news conference with the Deputy Finance Minister, Janis Platais, and the Director of Budget Department, Gatis Kaminskis. The finance ministry officials said that there was enough money in the budget to pay compensation to the employees in state jobs for the soaring costs of heating and accommodating expenses. The sum needed for this would amount to 740 millions rubles, but for now no solution has been found for the problem of financing heating in state jobs. If the government fails to meet the expenses of wages and heating, the ministries of welfare, culture and education will have to make a decision as to which budget establishments should be closed.

"If, at the end of the year, the budget becomes short of money the government will cancel investments in construction and set limits to purchasing equipment and furniture", said Janis Platais. The finance ministry officials stressed that the government would consider as a priority the ensured payment of wages, pensions and grants, as well as financing heating and catering in the budget establishments.

Commenting on the concept of the national budget for 1993, the director of Budget Department, Gatis Kaminskis said that the finance ministry in its calculations had taken into account that the national gross product at the end of 1992 was expected to be 48 per cent of last year's amount, and may also remain at the same level next year.

Ambassadors' Conference Outlines Foreign Policy Objectives

WS0511131092 Riga LETA in English 1953 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Riga, November 4 (LETA)—The media service of the Latvian Foreign Ministry released a statement on

Tuesday [3 November], describing the priorities of the Latvian Foreign policy determined by a conference of the Latvian ambassadors, which took place in Riga last week.

The statement says that the objective of the Latvian foreign policy is to compensate for the insufficient military potential and to cater for involving Latvia in the structures of collective security. The Latvian diplomacy has also to ensure the corresponding participation of the Latvian Republic in international political and economic organizations in order to succeed in solving its topical and conceptual issues.

The Latvian diplomats believe it is necessary to coordinate the work of the Latvian embassies more carefully and to activate the explanation of Latvia's home affairs and interests to foreign countries, using contacts with authorities, mass media and other independent structures.

Lithuania

Landsbergis Congratulates Clinton on Victory

OW0411194192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1834 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis has congratulated Bill Clinton on his victory in the US presidential elections. In his telegram, Landsbergis expressed the hope that the USA's support for Lithuania's independence would remain solid and become more dynamic under the new American Administration.

Parliament Spokesman on Reorganization of Troop Withdrawal

WS0511130192 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1743 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] Vilnius, 4 November 1992—Commenting on Vytautas Landsbergis' telephone conversation with the Russian President, the Spokesman for the Lithuanian Parliament Audrius Azubalis noted that according to the Russian President the Russian forces' pullout had not been suspended. It is only being reorganized. With the beginning of early frosts in Russia. It would be irresponsible both from the humanitarian and political point of view to move the troops to new locations where they would be subjected to the rigours of the early Russian winter without adequate housing facilities, yet they are sought for and the withdrawal should proceed in full accord with the agreements reached at the September 8. Moscow summit and signed by the authorized representatives of the Russian Federation and the Republic of Lithuania. The Russian President assured that the final term for the completion of the withdrawal remains unchanged. He also agreed that the military objects, such as the Northern Campus in Vilnius and the Slauliai airfield are to be handed over expeditiously on the basis of the mutual cooperation. Mr. Azubalis noted that very important is also the Russian President's remark that he has no reproaches to Lithuania regarding the situation of the Russian minority in Lithuania.

Mr. Azubalis also made a reference to the statement of the Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann who voiced his concern over the Russian President's decree to suspend the withdrawal of the ex-Soviet forces from the Baltic States saying he could not see any logical ground for tying up the problem of the Russian troops' pullout to the Russian claim of violation of the Russian minority's rights in the Baltic States. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Denmark urged the Russian Government to abide by the 1992 Helsinki resolution to the effect that all the foreign troops are to be removed from the Baltic States without delay.

Prime Minister Urges People To Vote in 2d Round

WS0411130492 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1731 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] 3 November 1992—This right-wing government, whose work was not appreciated by most of the Lithuanian people, according to election results, accomplished many things during its alloted time frame said Prime Minister Abisala speaking on Lithuanian television.

Most of the leader's worries come from agricultural reforms, because many laws were broken and resources were not divided equally. There are many problems for the purchase of agricultural production since prices used to be subsidized for the consumer. Even the State could not settle accounts for the farmers goods. The Prime Minister promised that debts to the farmers for sold cattle products will be paid in two to three weeks time.

Expressing his opinion on the first round of the Sejm election results, the Prime Minister said that although the DLP [Democratic Labor Party] did not rule after March 11th, they are not altogether blameless for the current situation. Voting for the opposition especially during hard economic times is understandable. However, the prior opposition was marred by their history. The DLP has not made any open repentance, they just changed their old name. That is why we should be worried about the State's political future. The elections are not yet over. And until the DLP has not won, political and social demonstrations should sober up the situation and help people get a better orientation. The Prime Minister urged people to actively participate in the second election.

Whoever makes up the Sejm opposition, they will have a big influence on political declarations and on future developments in the State, added A. Abisala, determined to work for the independent democratic state of Lithuania and cherish no illusions of returning to the non-existent USSR.

The DLP statement calls on the Lithuanian mass media to reflect the course of the election and its results more objectively and to abstain from using the channels of the official information for spreading the propaganda of rumours which augments the tension in the society and diminishes the possibilities of the democratic choice. By reiterating the ideas of those who bear the responsibility for the January 1991 events, the DLP statement concludes, the journalists join the campaign of the propaganda which has no basis in Lithuania for communism as ideology, philosophy and practice is defunct.

Centrists Seek Support in Second Round of Voting

OW0511004392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1724 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuania's centrist political organisations have called on the population to give them support at the second round of the parliamentary election scheduled for November 15. In a joint statement, the Centre Movement, the Liberals' Union, the Moderate Movement and the Movement for National Progress say the centrists' presence in parliament would serve to mitigate a possible confrontation between the left and right blocs.

The centrists were defeated at the first round on October 25, getting only five seats. Ten centrist candidates will stand in the second round.

Democratic Labour Party To Concentrate on Economy

OW0511005292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1725 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Gediminas Kirkilas, deputy chairman of the Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania [DLPL], told reporters his party's members elected to the Seimas (new parliament) are going to pay the main attention to the economy.

He said the DLPL not only counts on its own economists but also has useful contacts with business and economists supporting the Lithuanian Liberals' Union. The DLPL's MPs have set themselves the aims of making amendments to the existing legislation, stabilising industry and agriculture, providing wider opportunities for business enterprise and improving the social security system.

As regards the Memorandum of the Economic Policy of Lithuania, Kirkilas said the newly elected DLPL takes the view that none of its provisions can be changed, and none of the credits the memorandum provides for can be used for social security purposes.

According to Kirkilas, funds to improve social security can, in particular, be raised by cutting down the administrative apparatus and providing better conditions for business enterprise.

The party's economic programme may be published next week, Kirkilas said.

Democratic Labor Party Condemns Attempts To Discredit Vote Results

WS0411130292 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1731 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] 3 November 1992—The Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party [DLP] Press and Information Bureau passed to ELTA a statement on the Lithuanian television and other mass media of information. It says that October 31 the "Panorama" television news broadcast quoted the leader of the clandestine Communist Party of Lithuania Mykolas Burokevicius who as if had urged members of his party to vote for the DLP. We are surprised, the statement says, at the attempts of the state television to discredit the results of the election to the Sejm, to throw a shadow on the DLP and to cast doubt on people's choice by reanimating the defunct party of M. Burokevicius, by citing ostensible telegrams from V. Zhirinovskiy and so on. (The reference is made to the mass media news that the notorious leader of the Russian Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy congratulated the Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party on its victory at the election. The DLP leader Algirdas Brazauskas denied at a press conference to have received such a congratulation.) In the first round of the election, the DLP statement continues, not only many Lithuanians but also Russians, Poles, Belarusians, probably quite many among them former members of the USSR Communist Party in Lithuania, voted for the DLP. However, the flow of time cannot be turned back, people are changing too. They have adopted the citizenship of Lithuania and, let us hope, they are honestly [item ends]

Litas Committee on Conditions for Introduction of Currency

WS0411130892 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1731 GMT 3 Nov 92

[Text] 3 November 1992—The Litas Committee members, Chairman of the Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis, Prime Minister Aleksandras Abisala and Chairman of the Bank of Lithuania Vilius Baldisis, have announced their decision on the introduction of the Lithuanian national currency Litas. The Litas will be introduced after:

- all the final interstate settlements with the former Soviet republics are made;

- a halt of the increase of prices and stabilization of inflation due to the limits provided at the memorandum on the economic policy of the Republic of Lithuania;

- regulating the balance of payment of international trade.

The interim money coupons will be changed into the Litas after the fulfillment of these conditions. According to the memorandum on the Lithuanian economic policy, it will be done at the end of 1992.

Coupons will be changed into the Litas at the same rate. The population's deposits up to February 26, 1992 will be compensated.